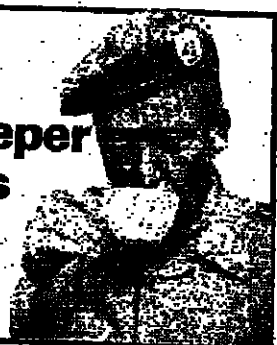


A peacekeeper remembers

PAGE 4



# THE JERUSALEM POST

Vol. LV, No. 16485 Monday, March 30, 1987 • Adar 29, 5747 • Shaban 1, 1407 NIS 0.80 (Eilat NIS 0.70)

EIGHT PAGES  
FROM SUNDAY'S

The New York Times

WEEKLY REVIEW  
INSIDE TODAY

SECOND EDITION



Yitzhak Shamir and David Levy do their bit to put on a show of unity at yesterday's Herut convention. (Hanoach Guttman)

## Herut averts blowup; convention passes in peace

By MENACHEM SHALEV  
Post Political Reporter

Herut averted its worst nightmare yesterday as it emerged intact from a largely peaceful session of its reconvened convention.

Party activists had feared a repeat of the first session a year ago, which was marked by shouting and brawling and which broke up without making crucial decisions.

Even the elections for top party posts, with two contenders for each job, failed to stir up the 2,091 delegates, who quietly voted in 40 polling booths.

The votes were being counted at press time.

Prime Minister Shamir's position in his party and in the government appears to have been strengthened by the quiet convention. But the man of the hour was obviously Katsav, whose forceful handling of voting on the conven-

### 1 a.m. bulletin: Levy struggling in vote

Deputy Premier David Levy appeared to be heading for something of a setback in the elections according to a count of one-third of the votes by 1 a.m.

In his race for deputy chairman of the party, Levy was leading MK Meir Cohen-Avidor by only 54-46 per cent.

Moshe Arens, however, and Ariel Sharon, respectively contesting the posts of Central Committee chairman and party secretary, were each leading by 2-1 margins. Sharon was besting MK Ovadia Eli and Arens was outpacing MK Yoram Aridor. The latter contest was seen as an additional blow for the Levy camp, since Aridor had been previously endorsed by the Levy camp.

Sharon's showing - with some 700 of the 2,091 votes counted, was deemed a major personal victory. The Sharon camp was assumed to command only 15 per cent of the delegates; seasoned observers believe, moreover, that the party central committee which he will eventually control may be the only Herut body that will function properly.

If the trend of the voting continued, the results would also constitute a victory for party chairman PM Yitzhak Shamir, who had been seeking such an outcome.

The full results of the voting were expected only this morning.

But under the authoritative leadership of convention organizer Moshe Katsav, the convention at the Tel Aviv Exhibition Grounds proceeded without a hitch, amid public displays of new-found amity between party leaders.

(Continued on Back Page)

## Herut MK sees late summer poll

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Likud-Herut MK David Magen believes that the national unity government is likely to break up, and expects that early elections might be held, perhaps at the end of summer, because of the number of crucial issues that are now being dealt with by the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.

The political crisis that would be caused by these issues could affect Israel's present political leadership, he holds.

Magen, who is a member of the seven-man Knesset security subcommittee that is probing the Israeli ramifications of the Pollard affair, also mentioned the complex problem of Israel's military relations with South Africa as well as a number of other sensitive security issues. Magen, a close associate of Industry Minister Ariel Sharon's, first came out with this dire prognosis at a Herut branch meeting on Saturday night in Ashdod; he reiterated his prognosis yesterday to The Jerusalem Post and to Israel Radio.

## Area of IDF action was used for Katyusha attacks

By DAVID RUDGE  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

**ROSH HANUKKA.** - The area where IDF troops clashed with gunmen Saturday night was used recently by hostile forces to launch Katyusha rocket attacks against the security zone and northern Israel, army sources said yesterday.

Shi'ite extremists have also used the area as a springboard for attacks on the IDF and the South Lebanese Army, the sources said.

At least three gunmen were reported killed and several others wounded in the clash. Five IDF soldiers were wounded. They were transferred to Rambam Hospital in Haifa where one underwent a minor operation for stomach wounds.

His wounds were described as moderate. The other four suffered light wounds and were expected to be released soon.

The incident occurred outside the security zone, about eight kilometres north of the Israeli border in the western part of South Lebanon.

IDF troops encountered a group of gunmen, believed to be Shi'ite extremists. Helicopter gunships were reportedly used to support the

ground forces.

The Amal Shi'ite militia issued a statement yesterday saying its forces, and not those of the fanatical Iranian-backed Hizbullah, has been involved in the fighting.

In the past, Amal has not been heavily involved in attacks on the security zone. It has confined its activities to occasional forays against SLA troops and avoided direct confrontations with the IDF out of fear of reprisals.

Sources in South Lebanon noted that the clash occurred near the village of Yatar, northwest of Bint Jbeil. The area had been controlled by Hizbullah fighters until 10 days ago, when they withdrew and left the area to Amal.

The sources added that the area was one of the hottest spots in the western sector because of a SLA post overlooking the main road linking Yatar with the nearby villages of Kafra and Haris.

If Amal's involvement in Saturday night's clash is borne out, it could mark a change in the militia's tactics, coming hard on the heels of a shake-up in the Amal leadership in South Lebanon.

## U.S. welcomes Sella's decision to quit Tel Nof

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
WASHINGTON. - U.S. officials yesterday welcomed Air Force Colonel Aviem Sella's decision to resign as commander of the Tel Nof base.

With Sella's departure, the U.S. is expected to lift its boycott of the air base, which was imposed immediately after the highly decorated pilot was indicted by a U.S. Grand Jury on espionage charges stemming from the Jonathan Pollard affair.

American officials said, however, that they would continue their policy of a personal boycott of Sella, who has been named as Pollard's first "handler" in the United States. Sella is expected to remain in the Air Force, but American officers will have nothing to do with him.

U.S. officials would clearly also like to see Rafael Eitan, who was in

overall charge of the unit "running" Pollard in Washington, punished for his role in the affair.

They said that the Justice Department was continuing to move ahead in its effort to remove the immunity from prosecution earlier granted to Eitan and two other Israeli officials involved in the Pollard espionage ring.

The three Israelis - and possibly others - had been granted immunity for testifying against Pollard. But the Americans have since accused them of lying to cover up Sella's role.

U.S. officials yesterday also expressed hope that the two on-going Israeli investigations would expose all the circumstances surrounding the Pollard affair - namely who initiated the operation and any "cover-up" which may have occurred after Pollard was arrested in November 1985 as he unsuccessfully sought sanctuary in the Israeli Embassy in Washington.



Aviem Sella (Eyal Fischer)

He is currently serving a life sentence, having pleaded guilty to the espionage charges. His wife, Anne Henderson-Pollard, is serving a five-year sentence on lesser charges.

Authoritative sources said that Sella had offered to resign the Tel Nof post several weeks ago, but a group of senior Air Force officers marched into Defence Minister Rabin's office to protest against what they considered to be Sella's unfair punishment. They insisted that Sella had received authority from higher political levels.

Israeli officials in Washington were hoping that Sella's resignation would help to ease some of the very serious U.S.-Israeli strains that have surfaced in recent weeks. But they agreed that only a full-scale Israeli inquiry - including the punishment of any military, intelligence and political officials involved - would help to put the Pollard affair behind the two countries.

## Herzog defends move on lifers

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

President Herzog last night dismissed the "moral preaching" of critics who condemned his setting maximum 24-year sentences for the three members of the Jewish terrorist underground who had been given life terms for murdering three Arab students at the Islamic University in Hebron.

Speaking on Israel Radio, Herzog said: "I gave it a great deal of thought. I have no regrets. It was within my authority" to set the maximum sentences instead of the indefinite ones.

The three prisoners - Menahem Livni, Uri Sharabaf and Shaul Nir - will as a result of Herzog's action be able to receive home leave as soon as Pessah and to get one-third off their sentences for good behavior.

Commenting on sharp criticism of his decision by one of his predecessors, Prof. Ephraim Katzir, Herzog expressed "surprise," as Katzir "had not seen any of the files regarding the cases nor heard any of the professional opinions from prison." Herzog recalled criticism when Katzir pardoned embezzler Yehoshua Ben Zion on health grounds.

In yesterday's Ha'aretz Katzir said that it was unthinkable to pardon the terror underground life-termers, and "too early" to grant them a maximum sentence. A president, Katzir maintained, must decide according to the actions of the prisoners, and not the sentiments and motives they express.

Herzog denied reports that no president has ever set maximum terms for Arab security prisoners. "I don't remember if I myself did it - I don't believe so - but it has been done," Herzog rejected the notion that there are "good Jewish terrorists and bad Arab terrorists," noting that there was a real difference between Israeli security prisoners and terrorists who are members of the PLO and other such organizations that aim to destroy the state.

Herzog brushed aside claims that Arab security prisoners should be allowed home leave from prison. "Will they feel safe in the streets if these people are out on leave?" Herzog asked.

Since Herzog was "attacked mainly by the extreme left and the extreme right" for his decision, "I suppose it means I am on the correct, middle track."

## Sella motivated by 'my concern for Israel's ties with U.S. and its Jews'

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
Post Defence Correspondent

**TEL AVIV.** - Air Force Aviem Sella, who is said to have recruited and handled convicted spy Jonathan Pollard, yesterday resigned as commander of the Tel Nof airbase, explaining he was doing so out of concern for Israel's relations with the U.S. and its Jews.

Sella thus ended the controversy over his appointment, which had involved a U.S. boycott of the base and the possibility of affecting the strategic cooperation between the two states.

Sella, 41, submitted his letter of resignation during a lengthy meeting with OC Air Force Aluf Amos Lapidot. Lapidot accepted the resignation, and passed it on to Chief of

General Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy, who endorsed it. Levy is reported to have expressed "deep appreciation" to Sella nevertheless. He then forwarded the letter to Defence Minister Rabin, who also accepted it.

Sella plans to remain in the Air Force.

However, a very senior source contacted last night said he was not sure Sella will remain in the Air Force. He is likely to get a position in another corps, the source indicated.

In his letter Sella recalled that long ago he had already made it clear that "my service in this or that position will not be a burden or a hindrance to the Air Force or the IDF." He said he had repeated his stand at the meeting in which Rabin approved

his appointment as commander of the Tel Nof airbase. "I stated that if my position will be a hindrance, I will give up my post for the good of the state," he added.

Sella went on to reject any suggestion that he was yielding to a request that he leave. His decision was "the result of a personal, independent decision," he said.

"I have been flooded with calls by subordinates, commanders, friends, in and out of the Air Force, from the public, and even from American citizens expressing support and identification and asking me to carry on."

He made it clear he would have liked to carry on, noting that the post, "which I assumed only a few

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## U.S. backing conference in bid to woo Arab moderates

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

**WASHINGTON.** - The Reagan administration is trying to rebuild its credibility with moderate Arab states by adopting a more active diplomacy that includes support for an international peace conference on the Middle East, a senior U.S. official has said.

The Washington Post yesterday quoted the official as saying that the administration has decided to "actively help" Middle East nations resume a dialogue about "the basic issues" and to support a Soviet-attended international peace conference "as a possible means" to direct

Arab-Israeli negotiations.

"If the government of Israel establishes diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and wants the Soviet Union to participate in an international conference, I'm sure the United States would have no objections," the official was quoted as saying.

The official, who was not identified by name, said that this new strategy was adopted by President Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz, National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci and White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker during a meeting last month.

## Hammer invited to visit Poland

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

In what appears to be one more sign of a thaw in relations between Israel and the Communist bloc countries, Minister for Religious Affairs Zevulun Hammer has been invited to visit Poland by his Polish counterpart.

The invitation, the first of its kind since Poland broke diplomatic ties with Israel in 1967, was conveyed by Avraham Becker, the Israel director of the World Jewish Congress. Becker received the invitation from Religious Affairs Minister Adam Lopatka during a recent visit to Warsaw.

## Summer time after Pessah

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Summer time will start this year on Tuesday, April 14 at midnight, three days later than originally planned.

The cabinet approved the change yesterday in the wake of lobbying by a number of Orthodox groups and of an initiative by the Religious Affairs Minister Zevulun Hammer.

The brief postponement means that summer time will start after the first day of Pessah.

Hammer told the cabinet that the change would make it easier for families to hold a Seder with their children, before the clock was changed.

Had summer time been introduced on April 11, Hammer explained, the Seder would have had to start at around 8 p.m., instead of around 7 p.m.

## Chief Rabbi raps secular 'ignorance'

By HAIM SHAPIRO

When people refer to religious extremism, what they are in fact referring to is normative Torah Judaism, Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira said yesterday.

The chief rabbi was speaking in Jerusalem at a conference on religious extremism sponsored by the Religious Affairs Ministry and El Ami, an organization devoted to fostering understanding between the religious and the secular.

He left after delivering his message and did not stay to hear such speakers as Prof. Ze'ev Falk, well-known Orthodox proponent of liberalization within halacha (religious law) and Reform Rabbi Moshe Haim Weiler.

In the chief rabbi's view, talk of religious extremism was often the

product of ignorance.

"The rabbis do not make their decisions to anger the public, they rule as they understand the Torah," he said. He added that "90 per cent of the Israeli public are *amuratzim* (unlearned in the Torah), but 80 per cent of them believe in a 'Supreme power'."

Also stemming from ignorance, Shapira said, was an order banning lecturers who may encourage *hazara bishvua* in the secular school system. Later, he said, the ministry had rescinded its ban and apologized for the "mistake."

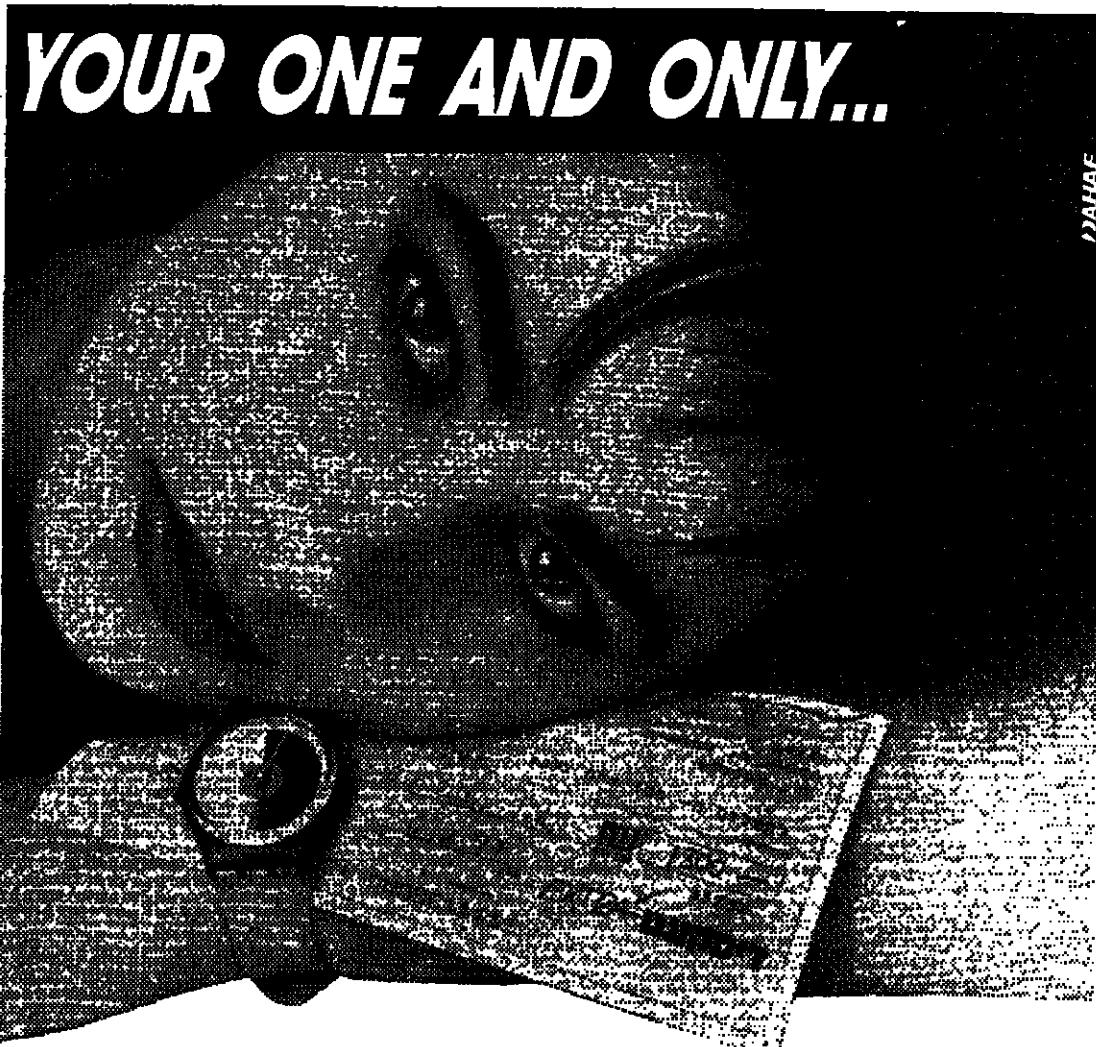
Though he did not mention it, his reference to the Education Ministry ban revealed a difference in understanding between Israel's religious and non-religious communities. For Orthodox Jews, *hazara bishvua*

simply means repentance, a desire to leave off sinful ways. For secular Jews, the term suggests a sudden and revolutionary acceptance of an ultra-Orthodox life-style, complete with a political outlook.

Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu, who is usually considered more aggressive than his Ashkenazi counterpart, was more conciliatory in his remarks.

Eliahu said that when he sees a car driving by on Shabbat, he pronounces a wish for a "speedy recovery." "Either the driver is a physician, rushing to the bedside of a critically ill patient, or else the driver is 'sick in spirit,'" he said.

In any case, Eliahu reasoned, if shouting and berating the driver has no effect or even a negative effect, "what have I gained?"



...the only check that buys you whatever you want, with the benefit of "cash purchase" discounts. Your account is then debited gradually - in 10 installments, or more.

# DISCOUNT EXTRA

Checking Account

IT LETS YOU WRITE OUT A CHECK FOR WHATEVER YOU BUY - AND TO PAY FOR IT LATER, IN STAGES.



## The weather at major Swissair destinations

	29.3.87	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	3	37	9	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	5	41	12	Cloudy
BUEENOS AIRES	17	62	82	Cloudy
CHICAGO	5	41	12	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	3	37	9	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	3	37	9	Cloudy
GENEVA	4	39	12	Cloudy
HONG KONG	4	25	2	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	19	60	72	Cloudy
LONDON	13	55	16	Cloudy
LISBON	13	55	16	Cloudy
MADRID	13	55	16	Cloudy
MONTREAL	9	32	17	Cloudy
NEW YORK	9	32	17	Cloudy
OSLO	3	37	9	Cloudy
PARIS	3	37	9	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	28	62	73	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	2	36	7	Cloudy
TOKYO	9	48	12	Cloudy
TORONTO	2	36	7	Cloudy
ZURICH	4	39	12	Cloudy

For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

Tel Aviv: Ben Gurion St. Tel. 03-5102620  
Jerusalem: 20 Jaffa St. Tel. 02-231373  
Haifa: 2 Sea Road Tel. 04-336655  
Be'er Sheva: 32 Haifa St. Tel. 05-258322  
Gat: Ben Gurion Airport Tel. 05-7212151

swissair

## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Clear to partly cloudy, rising temperatures.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Temp
Jerusalem	66	5-13	18
Golan	49	6-16	18
Nazareth	61	5-12	15
Haifa Port	68	9-18	20
Tiberias	61	8-21	24
Nazareth	47	8-17	19
Afula	57	7-18	21
Samaria	50	6-16	19
Tel Aviv	59	11-18	21
B-G Airport	47	5-18	22
Jericho	37	8-24	26
Gaza	57	10-18	21
Beersheba	76	5-18	22
Eilat	25	12-24	26

## Engagement

The engagement is announced in Jerusalem of Mr. Veli Jokineva and Miss Leila Kallikowski of Finland. Psalms 103: 1-5.

## Bob Dylan to perform in Israel

By GILEAD LIMOR  
For the Jerusalem Post  
Bob Dylan is to give two concerts in Israel this summer, it was announced yesterday in Tel Aviv. He will perform with Tom Petty and The Heartbreakers, with whom he has been touring for the past year. Dylan has visited Israel frequently. He held his son's bar mitzva ceremony at the Western Wall, and owns an apartment in Jerusalem. But he has never given a public performance here.

## Abu Nidal threat

Post Middle East Staff  
BEIRUT. - Palestinian extremist leader Abu Nidal yesterday issued a threat against Palestinian figures from the territories who met with Vice Premier Shimon Peres and Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee Chairman Abba Eban last week. In a statement delivered to a Western news agency in Beirut, Abu Nidal said the Palestinians who met with Peres and Eban "would meet the same fate as the [other] Arab traitors."

## Tourism official indicted in sex case

Aharon Teitelman, a senior adviser to the tourism minister, appeared yesterday in the Jerusalem District Court on charges of sexual harassment. According to the indictment, Teitelman made it very clear to several women employees at the ministry that their chances of acquiring such benefits as car allowances depended on their willingness to have sexual relations with him. A war widow, aged 41, was threatened with the loss of her job if she did not sleep with former MK Gustav Badian, the prosecutor charged. Teitelman is also charged with molesting women in his office. (Itim)

## HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

# Katsav turns tough, gets convention off the ground

By MENACHEM SHALEV  
Post Political Reporter

After a year of seeking compromises between Herut's warring leaders, Social Affairs Minister Moshe Katsav turned tough yesterday morning to get the party's convention off the ground.

Katsav, the organizer of the convention, decided to ignore more senior ministers and get the approval of the over 2,000 delegates themselves for his way of running things.

At 11 a.m. yesterday, when the convention was officially scheduled to begin, the Herut ministers were meeting to agree on an agenda - and were getting nowhere fast.

Deputy Prime Minister David Levy demanded that the first item on the agenda be approval of changes in the party constitution that would make possible his election as party deputy chairman. Levy's implied threat was that if such changes were not approved, he could still challenge Prime Minister Shamir for the party chairmanship.

The convention's delegates grew tense as their leaders tried to reach an agreement for two hours. Then Katsav decided to open the convention without waiting for Levy's approval.

At 1 p.m. Katsav called in the delegates and at lightning pace proceeded to read out the items of the agenda and to put each one to an open vote.

Katsav told the convention of his efforts during the past year to achieve an agreed agenda. He said that he had encountered "almost impossible situations," and had been the target of "totally unfounded attacks." Katsav, who has been accused by Levy supporters of being biased against them, said that "order and fairness do not mean a lack of

objectivity." Katsav made it clear that he had no intention of "adding fuel to the Herut fire" and that, therefore, he would not compete for a party post.

But Katsav accepted Levy's demand and secured the convention's approval for changes in the constitution before he submitted Shamir's candidacy for the chairmanship.

Katsav then overcame another major stumbling block by gaining the convention's approval for a motion that every delegate could vie for any party post. The overwhelming approval of this proposal won allowed Katsav to avoid the potentially divisive counter-proposal that would have barred the party's ministers from competing for party posts.

Shamir was then elected party chairman by a nearly unanimous vote. He was opposed only by two little-known Herut activists.

In an uncharacteristically forceful address, Shamir called on the convention to elect Levy deputy chairman, Industry Minister Ariel Sharon chairman of the central committee, and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens chairman of the party secretariat in the name of "party unity."

Shamir said: This is a great day for Herut, a day when the party is being put to the test.

Shamir drew loud applause, when he called out: "David Levy, my friend, am I against you? Are you against me? There are no differences between us."

Shamir also used the occasion to lash out at Vice Premier Shimon Peres for supporting an international peace conference. Such a conference would lead to "capitulation," Shamir said.

"They say that we are murderers of the peace. Can one have so much contempt for the memory of the

Israeli people?" Shamir asked reminding his listeners that it was former prime minister Menachem Begin who had achieved the first peace treaty with an Arab country.

In an obvious reference to Peres and the Labour Party, Shamir said that "someone is obviously fed up," with the government's guidelines because "they prevent negotiations with the PLO, prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state and safeguard the integrity of the land of Israel."

"There is nothing in the international conference which has to do with peace," Shamir said.

Following Shamir's speech, MK Ehud Olmert, who heads the convention's election committee, tried to persuade Katsav to submit to an open vote. Shamir's proposal for the allocation of the party posts. Katsav refused.

The convention adopted a series of policy decisions, including total opposition to an international peace conference and a call to "endeavour to realize Israel's right and claim" to sovereignty over the territories. The convention warned against attempts to "prepare the ground for negotiations with the PLO under the guise of authentic Palestinians."

Another resolution lashed out at the "shameful" phenomenon of Soviet Jews receiving political refugee status in the U.S. and called on the American government and on U.S. Jewry to "stop testing" Jews and to help in bringing them to Israel.

Levy and Liberal Party minister Yitzhak Moda'i embraced after the convention approved, with little dissent, Herut's merger with the Liberals.

The convention then took a break to prepare for the crucial balloting on the party posts.

# Carter may take formal role in ME peace moves

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Encouraged by his current Middle East tour, former U.S. president Jimmy Carter does not rule out the possibility of assuming a formal peace-mediating role in the region. Such a prospect would become more realistic should the Democrats win the 1988 presidential elections, which, he believes, they have a good chance of doing.

Carter's favourite Democratic candidate is a fellow Georgian, Senator Sam Nunn, although he has nothing against the current leading candidate Gary Hart. Carter holds that the American people have become critical of President Reagan's policies during his second term, and should Vice President Bush get the Republican nomination he is not likely to inspire the nation.

Answering questions, yesterday, from a small group of Israeli journalists, Carter repeated that he was optimistic about the chances of a Middle East peace conference, basing himself on his talks with government leaders in Algeria, Egypt, Syria and Jordan. He made no secret of the fact that Syrian President Hafez Assad's attitude, which he termed "adequate flexibility," was probably the pleasant surprise of his tour.

Assad's position regarding the PLO and Lebanon seemed particularly interesting, but Carter was asked specifically not to reveal anything on these points.

He found Assad in greatly improved physical condition, fully in control, very knowledgeable about the details on his many problems, and working late hours.

Assad is quite concerned about Syria's difficult economic situation,



Jimmy Carter inspects a bag of Israeli-grown Shulamit peanuts yesterday during a tour of an agricultural institute. Himself a peanut grower, Carter remarked, "The quality is better, but we have much more quantity." (Reuters)

after two bad droughts and in view of the much curtailed aid from Saudi Arabia. Perhaps this had contributed to his new kind of realism, Carter thought.

Although Assad was not likely to agree to secret talks with Israel, his long-term goal today is to reach a formal negotiating stage, something that just was not there four years ago. He might even accept formal mediation of the Henry Kissinger type under the umbrella of an international conference, Carter held.

The former president, who was the architect of the 1978 Camp David agreements, is convinced that Israel has nothing to fear from the plenary sessions of an international forum, which would only try to break deadlocks that would arise during the direct talks between the parties concerned.

As far as the PLO is concerned, Carter seems to believe Yasser Arafat's position that his public statements must sound much more extreme and are quite different from what he really thinks. He has never met Arafat, but has talked to a number of other PLO representatives, because he believes this to be helpful.

Carter is convinced that most Arab leaders do not really want to see a separate Palestinian state.

As for Israel's involvement in the arms-for-Iran affair, Carter thinks that this was a "horrible mistake." He recalled that already in 1980 he had a tough confrontation with then-prime minister Menachem Begin because Israel was selling arms to Iran while the Khomeini regime was holding American hostages.

## Exporters warned on arms smuggling from Jordan

By JOEL GREENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Shmuel Goren, the coordinator of activities in the territories, has warned leading exporters from the West Bank and Gaza Strip that continued attempts to smuggle arms into the areas in trucks returning from Jordan will lead to more stringent security checks which could affect agricultural exports from the territories.

Goren met yesterday at the Defense Ministry with a group of Gaza exporters including deposed mayor Rashid Shawwa and Gaza Chamber of Commerce president Ragheb Murtaga. Both are leading citrus exporters. Goren met last week with exporters from the West Bank, including a member of the Jordanian parliament.

Goren told the exporters that though he did not hold them responsible for the smuggling, its continuation would lead to "even more severe security measures, which

could harm export from the territories across the Jordan bridges."

Security at the bridges was tightened last month after discovery of a ring of truck drivers from Hebron who smuggled explosives into the West Bank in their vehicles. Security sources said the drivers had been recruited by Fatah.

Trucks have since been delayed for long periods at the bridges, with especially long delays reported in the past week.

Goren also told the Gaza exporters that Egypt's ambassador to Israel, Mohammed Bassiouny, had announced a few days ago his government's willingness to accept Gaza citrus exports. The produce is to be sent through the Rafah border crossing for shipment from Port Said.

Goren said Israel would be prepared to assist in constructing infrastructure and reducing fees to facilitate shipment of the citrus products to Egypt.

## Supreme Court to decide on Demjanjuk court fate

The Supreme Court is to decide in a matter of days whether to disqualify the three-man court that is hearing the John Demjanjuk case.

Demjanjuk's lawyers, Mark O'Connor and Yoram Shefftel, appealed to the court to disband the current proceedings because of "unfairness, bias and hostility" displayed by the bench.

They said the judges had objected repeatedly to defense questions and were unreasonably forcing them to pay the air fare to Israel of an American judge from a previous Nazi trial to bolster their case.

O'Connor said that 90 per cent of the defence's questions were overruled by the bench, even when the prosecution had not objected to them.

"We believe the court has demonstrated a substantial amount of unfairness, bias and hostility inappropriate to a case as vital as the Demjanjuk case," O'Connor said. "We believe that justice can only be served by stopping the proceedings so that the Supreme Court can evaluate our claims."

State Attorney Yona Blattman responded that the judges were forced to intervene because the defence's questions were long and unclear.

"The questions needed the in-

tervention of the court. We in the prosecution at times had difficulty understanding the questions and if the court has to intervene in order to conduct an efficient proceeding, they shouldn't come with complaints."

The Supreme Court rejected an appeal by the defence that the trial be suspended until it rules on whether to disqualify the three judges.

Also yesterday, the Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice heard an appeal from Demjanjuk's lawyers that the prosecution be forced to delay the testimony of West German historian Wolfgang Shefftel, who is to give evidence on a crucial Nazi identity card.

The prosecution claims that the card proves that Demjanjuk was recruited as a Nazi guard at the Treblinka death camp.

Defence attorneys said they were promised that Shefftel would not testify before April 7. They said that they have a surprise witness who is expected by that time, and is extremely important to their case.

The High Court rejected their petition on the grounds that the court currently hearing the case has complete authority to rule on the matter. (Itim)

## SELLA

(Continued from Page One)  
weeks ago, is one to which every commander in the Air Force dreams.

He added, however, that he felt he "owes" his resignation to everything he had fought for "and will fight along with my colleagues in the Air Force."

A source said he believed the resignation was the result of pressure which had been building over a long period rather than one specific event.

Rabin wanted to delay Sella's appointment until relations with the U.S. were calmer. However the minister gave in to pressure, partly from Sella's comrades in the Air Force.

The argument for Sella's promotion was that the OC Air Force and the CGs had approved a request that he help the Bureau for Scientific Liaison, the organization which handled Pollard. Thus he did not work on his own and should be backed like any other soldier doing his duty.

The argument against Sella's appointment was that it would harm relations with the U.S.; the Americans had already indicated their anger when they said they would have nothing to do with Sella or his base until he cleared his name of espionage.

His appointment as commander of one of Israel's largest bases thus appeared as a sign of Israeli insensitivity.

The U.S. then indicted Sella on three counts of espionage.

The U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia, Joseph diGenova, charged that in 1984 Sella had recruited Pollard to spy for Israel and paid him to obtain documents related to U.S. national defence. He then received classified U.S. documents.

Asher Wallfish adds:

Abba Eban, chairman of the Knesset subcommittee on the intelligence and security services which is examining the Pollard

affair, told *The Jerusalem Post* last night: "Aluf-Mishne Sella took a commendable step in resigning from his command. I respect him for it, just as I respect the considerable assistance which he gave our subcommittee in his various appearances."

"Sella's resignation should not be interpreted as his acceptance of any guilt or blame in the Pollard affair. He gave up his command solely to make it easier for the Air Force to function. We have to remember that it is very difficult to command an air base which is subjected to a boycott by the U.S. Air Force. We should remember that today the air forces of both our countries are very closely, and perhaps inseparably, intertwined."

Eban said that Sella's associates had assured him (Eban) last night, after the resignation became public, that Sella would continue to cooperate with the subcommittee and other committees, and would appear once more at the Knesset, if need be, for additional testimony.

Industry Minister Ariel Sharon said last night that "Sella is one of the better pilots in the Israel Air Force and a superb professional in computers and electronics, and I would define him as one of the keystones of our Air Force. I hope that he will be able to continue and contribute for many years from his knowledge and his ability, which have extraordinary importance to the security of Israel."

## Compromise on tax-free cars

By ASHER WALLFISH  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The cabinet yesterday approved an arrangement whereby disabled IDF veterans can change their cars, free of tax, every three-and-a-half years.

Until April last year, the veterans were allowed to switch vehicles every three years. But since then, the government has lengthened the period between changes to four years in order to save Treasury

money. This resulted in a series of protests, which culminated in two large-scale demonstrations last week by disabled veterans in Tel Aviv and in Jerusalem, as a result of which the finance and defence ministers agreed to a compromise.

The finance and labour and social affairs ministers have yet to reach a formal decision with regard to disabled drivers who did not become incapacitated during military service.

With deep sorrow, we announce the passing of

**MORRIS BRODER**

The funeral took place yesterday, Sunday, March 29, 1987. The family are sitting shiva at 13 Shimoni St., Jerusalem.

Wife: Miriam Rivka Broder  
Children: Jacob and Debbie Broder, Jerusalem  
Sol and Marilyn Broder, Silver Spring, MD  
Sam and Lennie Broder, Baltimore, MD  
Grandchildren and great-grandchildren

The World Family  
of  
United Israel Appeal - Keren Hayesod  
honours the memory  
of

**Dr. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN** ז"ל

on the First Anniversary of his passing

THE INAUGURAL ANNUAL MEMORIAL LECTURE  
will be held tomorrow, Tuesday, March 31, 1987, at 7:30 p.m.  
at the Jerusalem Conservative Centre, 4 Agon St.

In deep sorrow, we announce the death of  
my dear mother, our grandmother

**ILANA DAMON**

The funeral will take place today, Monday, 29 Adar 5747,  
at 2 p.m., at Herzliya Cemetery.

We shall meet at the main gate.

Yohanan (Janos) and Tamar Damon  
Gila and Dan Damon

**ALIZA STERN** ז"ל

has passed away.  
She was director of the Demographic Centre at the Prime Minister's Office from 1970 to 1976.  
An outstanding personality, she contributed much in demographic and sociological areas.  
The Directorate of the Prime Minister's Office offers condolences to the family.

זיאת זכרה ברוך

On the thirtieth day after the passing of our dear

**Dr. HILDA FREUND**

there will be a memorial service in the Old Cemetery,  
Haifa, today, Monday, March 30, 1987, at 4 p.m.  
We shall meet at the main gate.

The Family

The President  
Council Members and Senior Staff  
of

THE MEDICAL DEFENCE UNION, ENGLAND

express their sincere condolences on the passing of the President  
of the Israel Dental Association

**Dr. SHMUEL PERLMUTTER**

to his wife, his children and all Israeli members of the Association.

## To the Members of the Tiberias Club Hotel Unit Owners Association

Unit Owners Time Sharing Association Tel Kof Esh 58-008-989-3

Dear Members: We are pleased to inform you that the following were elected during the course of the annual general meeting:

**Association Committee**  
Shmuel Gutentag - Chairman  
Adv. Danny Ernst - Vice Chairman  
Esther Hazki - General Secretary  
Paul Drimmer - Treasurer  
Adv. Yosef Buria  
Adv. Ya'acov Levi  
Adv. Ya'acov Zeligansky  
Ya'acov Gorali  
Elishe Yehudai

**Control Committee**  
Dov Ben David, Auditor  
Mert Matania  
Ronen Azriel

**Court**  
Adv. Nimrod Ovadia  
Ya'acov Evron

The first resolutions to be adopted authorised the Committee to represent all the members' interests.  
Hotel Opening - Details concerning the headquarters, telephone numbers and reservations procedure will be available at the Association office from April 8, 1987.

Procedure for joining the Arrangement, Final Warning. All those who have not joined the arrangement by April 7, 1987, including borderline cases and those with ten-year rights, in accordance with the court ruling, will lose their vacation unit rights and will be considered ordinary creditors.  
For clarification apply urgently to the Association office.

Informational material will be sent to members in the coming days.  
\* The Association office is open to the public Sunday-Thursday, 9:30 a.m.-5 p.m. Address: 18 Rival St., Tel Aviv 67778. Tel. 371508, 371433, 381256.

BEST WISHES FOR A HAPPY HOLIDAY AND PLEASANT VACATION

Shmuel Gutentag, Association Chairman Adv. Danny Ernst - Vice Chairman

In the name of the Association's selected bodies



## Soviets to test multi-candidate ballot in June

MOSCOW. — Experimental local elections involving competing candidates will be held in a region of each Soviet republic June 21, the official press said yesterday.

*Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party daily, said the decision to hold the experimental elections to local Soviets (councils) was made by the presidiums of the supreme Soviets (parliaments) of the republics.

The move follows a meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee in January and of the Politburo in February, when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said voters should have a choice of candidates rather than just voting for or against a list.

Voting is compulsory in the USSR.

Under the experiment, a "multiple-vote" electoral district will be created by grouping existing districts in a selected region of each republic. Those elected would be the deputies of the regional, city and village Soviets.

Voters will cross out on the ballot the names of the candidates they do not want. Candidates who obtain more than half of the votes will be considered elected, and run-off elections will be held two weeks later to break any ties, the press said.

Should the number of deputies elected exceeds the number of seats, a number of deputies will be designated as alternates, and will attend council meetings in a consultative capacity.

A seat vacated for any reason would be automatically filled by an alternative.

Meanwhile, the son-in-law of late Kremlin chief Nikita Khrushchev, ousted from a senior post when his father-in-law fell from power in 1964, called yesterday for more honesty in the presentation of Soviet history.

In an article on Soviet youth in the weekly journal *Ogonyok*, 62-year-old Alexei Adzhubei said young people had been turned into cynics by the constant rewriting of history books and their silence on key figures and periods of the past.

His article — in a journal that has been at the forefront of the campaign for openness in the treatment of social problems and liberalized cultural policies — was believed to be the first substantial writing he has published for two decades.

Adzhubei, a Young Communist League (Komsomol) leader in the early 1950s, was an influential figure in the Kremlin from 1959 to 1964, when he served as editor-in-chief of the government newspaper *Izvestia* and an adviser to Khrushchev, who was also edited out of histories under the rule of Leonid Brezhnev, his successor.

Together with other senior media figures, Adzhubei was promptly sacked from *Izvestia* by the Brezhnev regime and has since worked in relative obscurity as an editor of the monthly journal *Soviet Union*.



Ever the grocer's daughter, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher checks the wares in a Moscow supermarket yesterday. (Reuters)

## Muscovites mob Maggie

MOSCOW. — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher toured the Moscow area yesterday maneuvering through throngs of Soviets and shaking hands as though she were campaigning back home.

On the first full day of a five-day official visit to the Soviet Union, Thatcher spent about seven hours driving through the Moscow region, visiting the monastery centre of the Russian Orthodox Church at Zagorsk as well as a new suburban housing complex and a supermarket.

In the evening, she was joined by Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the centre box of the Bolshoi Theatre for a special performance of Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake*, the official Tass news agency said.

Thatcher is to begin talks today

with Gorbachev and Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, likely to focus on nuclear missile reductions in Europe and general disarmament questions.

Thatcher has also made clear that she intends to raise the question of what she regards as violations of human rights in the Soviet Union.

During her visit to white-walled 14th-century Holy Trinity Monastery at Zagorsk, 70km. north of Moscow, the crowds, largely silent but highly curious and friendly, swarmed toward her as she walked through narrow alleyways among a half-dozen ancient edifices, including white-plastered churches with gleaming gold-and-blue onion domes.

Reporters accompanying the British premier were told by Archiman-

drite Georgy, inspector of the Moscow Spiritual Academy, that there are about 30 million Orthodox church members among the 281 million inhabitants of this officially atheistic nation.

Later, Thatcher was driven in her sleek Soviet Zil limousine in a 30-car motorcade to the western Moscow suburb of Krylatskoye, site of a huge 17-storey apartment complex.

There she visited a four-room apartment on the 10th floor of a blue-and-white tiled building, the home of Viktor Lizbisenka, 48, and his wife, Valentina, 38.

The couple spoke briefly with the British leader but avoided politics. Thatcher gave them a huge box of chocolates and a set of English bone china. (AP, Reuters)

## Warplanes blast Kharg area Iran oil terminal wrecked, Iraqis say

NICOSIA. — Iraqi warplanes raided Iran's Ganaveh oil pipeline terminal repeatedly yesterday, "leaving their targets a smouldering wreckage," according to a military communiqué reported by the official Iraqi news agency.

The Iraqi jets also attacked the Imam Hassan oilfield in the vicinity of Ganaveh and "a big Iranian gunboat" spotted near the Iranian coast, the communiqué was reported as saying.

These were the first Iraqi air raids reported since last Sunday and Monday when Iran's Kharg Island oil terminal came under attack for the first time in several weeks.

Ganaveh is the coastal terminal of a network of pipelines and the

pumping station sending the oil to the major Kharg Island loading terminal 40 km offshore.

The Iraqi communiqué said "squadrons of Iraqi air force jets scored devastating hits (on Ganaveh), leaving their targets a smouldering wreckage" during the first raid in the morning and followed this up in the early afternoon with "further devastating hits leaving their targets gutted by fire."

Iraq said all its planes returned safely to base from the day's 68 combat missions, but the Iranian news agency Irna reported that an Iraqi warplane was shot down on the southern front in the Gulf fighting. It did not pinpoint the locality further. (AP, Reuters, AFP)

Hostages to be freed, says Arafat

## Kidnapped U.S. mentors 'now under Syrian control'

BAGHDAD (AFP). — Three American professors and an Indian teacher kidnapped in West Beirut last January are "now under Syrian control" and will be released at "an opportune moment," Yasser Arafat, the leader of the PLO said here yesterday.

In an interview with Agence France-Presse, Arafat said: "The Syrians are preparing a big show for the release of the four professors kidnapped by their allies, the gangsters of (the Shi'ite militia) Amal."

The PLO chief also said three Palestinian women were killed, 10 others wounded and four reported missing yesterday morning in the Shatilla refugee camp in south

Beirut after coming under artillery fire as they were attempting to demonstrate to demand food for their children.

Meanwhile, Hizbullah's spiritual leader Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah was quoted in the Syrian semi-official daily *Tishrin* that he supports the unification of Syria and Lebanon. He also said he agreed with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad that the Lebanese and the Syrians were "one people with two states."

His remarks caused some surprise as Hizbullah has opposed Syria's entry into the southern suburbs of Beirut, dominated by the Shi'ite militia.

## FOREIGN BRIEFS

### Pretoria minister found shot dead — evident suicide



John Wiley

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters). — South Africa's only cabinet minister of English descent, Environment Affairs Minister John Wiley, was found shot in the head yesterday in an apparent suicide.

Wiley, 60, was found on his bed with a gun in his hand. A police spokesman said. Investigation were continuing, but no crime was suspected.

Wiley was the only minister from the English-speaking community in a cabinet dominated by the Afrikaners of Dutch descent who make up 60 per cent of South Africa's white population.

His death poses a problem for the National Party (NP), which has two days to select a new candidate before nominations close for a whites-only general election on May 6.

### 'W. Germany bought Soviet tank in Iraq'

HAMBURG (AFP). — The West German secret service (BND), aided by the U.S. CIA, bought a sophisticated Soviet tank in Iraq to study its capabilities, according to a magazine published here yesterday.

The Hamburg magazine *JA* said that the BND paid \$270,000 for the T-72 tank, which is one of the most modern in the Soviet arsenal. The magazine, which did not reveal its sources, said the tank had been disassembled and recently packed into crates destined for the northern port of Bremerhaven.

The magazine did not give details of how the tank was acquired in Iraq, which has been a recipient of Soviet military aid.

According to the magazine, the West German secret service and military were particularly interested in the tank's alloy armour. The T-72 also has a 125-millimetre cannon that is reportedly one of the best in the world.

### Communist mediates Italy's cabinet crisis

ROME (AP). — Nilde Iotti, the Communist speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, began sounding out political leaders Saturday on whether a new coalition can be fashioned to avoid general elections a year ahead of schedule.

Iotti on Friday received from president Francesco Cossiga an "exploratory mandate" to consult party leaders and report back to him on the possibility of forming a new cabinet. Iotti, 66, is the first Communist and first woman given such a role in post-war Italy.

Cossiga turned to the veteran legislator two days after Christian Democrat Giulio Andreotti, current Foreign Minister and five-time former premier, abandoned his effort to resurrect the five-party coalition which collapsed March 3 with the resignation of Socialist premier Bettino Craxi.

The mandate is an exploratory one and does not give Iotti the power to try to put together a government herself.

### Thai troops overpower Vietnamese in border hills

BANGKOK (AFP). — Thai troops have partially recaptured two disputed hills on the Thai-Cambodian border after fierce fighting with Vietnamese troops in which both sides suffered many casualties, it was reported here yesterday.

The bodies of 19 Vietnamese soldiers, allegedly left behind by their retreating comrades, were found by Thai troops on one of the hills, the pro-government *Bangkok Post* newspaper said.

Thai troops had partially recaptured strategic hills 408 and 382 at Chong Bok Pass in Ubon Ratchathani Province, about 530 kilometres northeast of here, after fierce fighting with Vietnamese troops began Thursday, the *Post* said.

### Libyan helicopter crew seeks Cairo asylum

CAIRO (Reuters). — A Libyan military helicopter landed at an airbase near Cairo yesterday and its three-man crew asked for political asylum, the official Middle East News Agency reported.

It named the pilot as Colonel Mustapha Taher Faraza and said he asked for landing permission on entering Egyptian air space yesterday afternoon. It was not yet known if the request was granted.

A Libyan C-130 military transport landed in Egypt on March 2 and Egyptian officials later said its crew of five had asked for asylum. No decision has yet been announced on whether they can stay.

### Thousands cheer Turkish premier's return

ANKARA (AFP). — Thousands of Turks yesterday cheered the return of Prime Minister Turgut Ozal after his two-month absence to undergo heart surgery in the U.S.

Upon his return to Turkey, dozens of sheep were sacrificed along the road taken by his escort. Several other sheep and camels were spared upon Ozal's orders after an animal protection group protested the tradition of sacrificing animals to welcome important personalities.

### Film of love between India and Pakistan

NEW DELHI (AFP). — One of India's most celebrated filmmakers is to launch a film which aims to promote love between India and Pakistan and ease simmering tensions between the two neighbours, it was reported here yesterday.

Raj Kapoor, whose movies are also immensely popular in the Soviet Union, says his film *Henna* to be shot in Pakistan, will seek to unite India and Pakistan in the "bonds of love," the Press Trust of India reported. He described the film as a passionate love story of an Indian boy and a Pakistani girl.

When the options are in your hands

# OPEN ACCOUNT\*

- The only account which gives you:
  - Free Premier Card (Visa Golden Credit Card).
  - Monthly credit interest rate of 1.6% compounded daily.
  - Exemption from account service charges.
  - The right to an automatic overdraft of 7500 NIS with preferred interest.
  - High credit ceiling - particularly with "VISA ADIF".
  - Increased cash withdrawals at all Bank Leumi branches.
  - Caspomat withdrawals of up to 500 NIS.
- "Open account" - a checkless account for clients with investments of 40,000 NIS or more. Bank Leumi reserves the right to withdraw the offer or change the conditions at any time. For additional information please stop by one of our branches today.
- \* Patuach Account

**AUTOMATIC CREDIT INTEREST COMPOUNDED DAILY**

# bank leumi בנק לאומי





## At the Herut convention

## Smiles and handshakes — for the cameras

By ROBERT ROSENBERG  
David Levy never comes in at the same time as any of the others except his entourage. He's always smiling; when he isn't frowning. If a bright light flashes, he's sure to look around to see if the camera is focused on him.

Yitzhak Shamir has two hand motions when he speaks. He either raises a clenched fist to slam on the lectern, or sweeps across the air with an extended finger in an emphatic no.

Ariel Sharon is always called Arik. He sits like a potentate, his arms folded across the top of his belly.

Moshe Arens smiles. Yoram Aridor sits in a corner of a cafeteria like a gambler, facing the door. He is alone, like a gambler waiting for other players.

His pipe issues a constant stream of blue smoke. Occasionally somebody approaches, and he listens for a moment. He never smiles. He's Gary Cooper in *High Noon*. "But the shootout won't solve anything," somebody says.

Shamir speaks about love, unity, the land and the people. He also says support for an international peace conference is treason.

He uses Menachem Begin's name at least 14 times. The first few times, Begin's name inspires applause. After a while, it doesn't seem to do much.

Fear and exhaustion dominate: fear of the champagne bottles that Ronni Milo says are in the wine cellars of the Labour Party; exhaus-

tion from all the politicking. Milo sees a radio microphone across a crowded room, empty earphones waiting to be put on to hear the studio announcer's questions. Milo is the first to wear those earphones.

"My friend David Levy," cries Shamir. "Am I against you? Are you against me? We have no argument!" Levy smiles for the cameras. Levy and Shamir shake hands. For the cameras, for the delegates.

In back rooms, they've already picked their proxies.

The cameramen are the only people pushed around by any of the camps at the convention. The cameramen with their equipment and the security men in their black T-shirts are the only easily identifiable camps in a hall full of camps.

In the last few years, a carnation pinned to a lapel has become a fashionable accessory at political conventions bitterly divided by emotion, if not ideology. White and pink carnations too small for export are the signs of unity, the appeal for peace and unanimity.

Somewhere suggests the poker game metaphor.

The ante became so heavy that the table collapsed. The players got down on the floor and pretended to be picking up the legs but were actually picking up the money.

Now all the money has been picked up and stuffed into the players' pockets. And the table is still on the floor. But it's the money that counts.

Levy huddles with his advisers in a room behind a hall about to be used

for a circumcision ceremony. The caterer watches uneasily as some Levy supporters march into the grounds of the hall. "All these people, all these people you invited?" he asks the grandmother of the baby.

"Fear and exhaustion. Fear and exhaustion. They beat us last time," says a Levy aide with a grey-white pompadour identical to that of his boss, as he stands in line in the cafeteria for a bourekas that's been heated for three hours.

Moshe Katsav drones out the party platform. There's no debate, no discussion, no consideration, no wondering, no changing. This convention isn't about ideas; it's about rhythmic applause.

Yohanan Bader, in his 80s, his grip as strong as a boxer's, has a story for every occasion. On the eve of the first session of that unfinished convention last year, he remembered a story about the First Socialist International split. That was an hour before David Levy tried to claim Begin's mantle.

Bader's story yesterday was about a conversation he once had with Ze'ev Jabotinsky. "Jabotinsky was mad at me. I hadn't accepted his invitation to the movement's 'residium' in London. 'I have my office to tend to,' Bader recalled telling Jabotinsky. "'And I,' said Jabotinsky, 'I have this movement to tend to.' He gave everything he earned to the movement. For ours was a movement to which we gave and not one from which we took," said Bader. He sat in the front row, remember-



Hands are raised for Yitzhak Shamir as chairman of the party at the Herut convention in Tel Aviv yesterday. Next to Shamir, left, are Transport Minister Haim Corfu and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon. (Hanoach Gutmann)

ing all. Levy calls the reconciliation cosmetic, says there's unity but no friendship. Sharon backs Arens against Ar-

dor. Begin Jr. backs Ovadia Eli. Levy's man, against Sharon. It's a poker game, but the big boys aren't playing this round. They'll wait for higher stakes.

## Untso ex-chief looks back

HELSINKI. — Saying his goodbyes in Jerusalem's German Colony in 1979, after nine years as commander of the UN Truce Supervision Organization (Untso), General Easio Silasvuo was "sad, particularly sad."

Silasvuo, a fit 65, is now retired in his native Helsinki and writing his memoirs, with a focus on his years as deputy commander (1967-70) and head of Untso.

Of his years in command, he says: "Between 1970 and 1973 nothing happened. It was monotonous. I dealt only with smuggling and [UN] sex problems. I thought there was no possibility of any kind of [peace] settlement."

Then came October 1973. "Everybody later blamed me for not seeing the preparations for war, for giving no warning," he recalls. "Mainly I blamed myself."

Silasvuo was in Cairo on October 4. There were lots of troops on the roads. The following day he and his aides were scheduled to have visited the southern part of the Suez Canal, "but the Egyptians without explanation cancelled the visit. I was having lunch at the Cairo Sheraton when the war broke out."

The Egyptians, he recalls, turned nasty towards the UN personnel. They beat up a number of UN observers who had fallen into their hands along the canal. "But a Finnish officer told me at the time: 'Now the Egyptians are difficult. But in a week's time they will be on their knees before us, begging for help. And so it happened.' But the change did not make the Arabs like the UN men."

Until 1973, he recalls, the "UN was not popular with Israel, and was popular in the Arab countries. Then attitudes were reversed."

Silasvuo recalls that after the war his Jerusalem eye doctor said to him: "You have done so much for my country," and declined to take any money from him for treatment.

The doctor was referring to Silasvuo's role in getting the UN Emergency Force (Unef) to separate the combatants at the end of the fighting and to bolster the cease-fires along the canal and in the Golan Heights. Unef's arrival, he says, was "like a miracle. It ended the shooting." Silasvuo recalls the work of the 36 Soviet observers Moscow insisted on sending to operate alongside the 36 Swedes and 36 Americans. "At first, the Soviets seemed to have sent non-military personnel. They couldn't read maps... Then they sent real military men."

Silasvuo recalls that one of these Soviet officers, a Col. Sakharov, was eventually allowed by Israel to serve as liaison with UN headquarters in Jerusalem. "Walking along Ben-Yehuda Street one day, an Israeli who had not long before arrived from Russia as an immigrant, spotted the uniform and was shocked. The Jew asked the Russian: 'What are you doing here?' The Russian: 'I've come to take you back to Russia.'"

After October 1973, Silasvuo

IN PERSON  
BENNY MORRIS

was instrumental in launching the Israeli-Egyptian talks at Kilometer 101, which cleared the way for the first disengagement-of-forces agreement in 1974. Former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger later minimized the contribution of Silasvuo and the UN to the first disengagement agreement. "Kissinger, indeed, put an end to the direct talks supervised by the UN. But I believe the talks were very useful," Silasvuo says.

In November 1977, when the late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat arrived in Jerusalem, "I rejoined with the Israelis," says Silasvuo. He recalls the conversation between



Gen. Easio Silasvuo

Sadat and Golda Meir, who a few years before had said that there were "no Palestinians. Now she admitted there was a Palestinian problem that needed resolving." "She was great," as was Sadat, he says.

Silasvuo believes that Begin was "misled" into the Lebanon War — "A bad mistake" — by then defence minister Ariel Sharon. Israel "chose the wrong ally," he adds, speaking of the Christians, with whom he had first become acquainted during a brief stint in Lebanon in 1958.

"The bloody Christians," he says. "They are the cruellest, the least least Christian" of Lebanon's factions.

Silasvuo says he is "disappointed" with Israel. It lacks good leadership. He feels that Shamir "belongs to the past, and Rabin and Peres are not good. Rabin was bleak as a prime minister."

He believes that the Palestinians are not "aggressive or blood-thirsty people," as commonly represented in the media. The Palestinians like to please, like to serve. Israel would not be able to hold the territories were it otherwise. "If you had Finns or Yugoslavs there..." He adds that the Palestinian leaders seem concerned mainly about their "pocketbooks" and are not willing to sacrifice themselves for their nationalist ideals.

## Beduin prepare demo for Land Day

By BRADLEY BURSTON  
For The Jerusalem Post  
RAHAT. — Beefeerd-up police forces in this Beduin township are bracing today for what promises to be the largest Negev Land Day demonstration on record.

The demonstration comes in the wake of last Friday's decision by the Beersheba District Court to uphold the conviction of three Beduin from nearby Laquiya on charges of erecting permanent houses without permission. The three were sentenced to five-month prison terms and fined NIS 5,000. In addition, their houses were ordered demolished.

Though past efforts by representatives of the Progressive List for Peace (PLP) and the Israel Communist Party (Rakah) to convince Negev Beduin to observe Land Day have been notably unsuccessful, widespread displeasure over the Laquiya case has kindled interest in the Communist-sponsored Rahat rally. Alignment, Citizens Rights Movement, and Mapam sympathizers are also expected to attend.

Negev CRM activists have maintained that the government has placed Laquiya residents in an im-

possible bind, stating that "the same government that sold the residents their plots 12 years ago has refused so far to issue permits for permanent structures."

Mapam yesterday made a statement in support of the "just" demands of Israeli Arabs for equal rights. It also called on the Israel Police not to interfere with today's demonstration.

The organizers of the Rahat demonstration were bitterly attacked yesterday by Nuri Il-Ukbi, chairman of the PLP-backed Association for the Protection of Beduin Rights.

"The Beduin of the Negev live in a true hell," Il-Ukbi told *The Jerusalem Post*, "but the Communists merely engage in empty slogans and propagandizing, not in effecting solutions. The government has taken over 80 per cent of our land and given it away to Jewish farmers. Families lose their flocks, their possessions, everything as a result of endless persecution by the Green Patrol, but Rakah continues to serve only their own narrow party interests."

Il-Ukbi charged that funds collected by Rakah, ostensibly to be-

nefit the injured victims of past Land Day violence, were never distributed, and that the donations were diverted instead into Communist Party coffers.

Il-Ukbi's group plans to hold a demonstration of its own this morning in front of the Interior Ministry's Beersheba branch office.

JOEL GREENBERG ADDS:

Leaflets distributed yesterday in East Jerusalem by Fatah supporters called on Arab shopkeepers in the city and the territories to mark Land Day. The handbills, signed by "The National Forces in the Occupied Territories," said the strike should also be in solidarity with the Palestinian security prisoners who are holding a hunger strike in protest against prison conditions. The commercial strike should also be a protest against plans to close two Arab bakeries in the Old City's Jewish Quarter during Pessah, the leaflet said.

Kach supporters in Kiryat Araba yesterday distributed a leaflet calling on residents to join vigilante patrols on the highway between Hebron and Jerusalem, where they expect stonethrowing incidents today.

## Ambulance stoppage threat

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Post Science and Health Reporter  
Magen David Adom is threatening to stop all ambulance services on Wednesday if the government does not provide NIS 1.6 million by then to bail out the medical organization.

Without the cash, MDA will be unable to pay for compulsory insurance for its fleet of ambulances, buy petrol, or pay salaries to its hundreds of employees.

Most ambulances were out of action between 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. yesterday, as 800 employees attended meetings. But ambulances did rush road accident victims to hospital, and mobile cardiac units dispatched to attend heart attack victims.

MDA says its financial problems have been dragging on for the last three years, as government subsidies have dropped far below their previous levels. As a result, the organization says, wages have dropped so low that veteran workers have resigned to seek higher-paying jobs

elsewhere. Only two-thirds of MDA's staff positions are filled, leaving the remaining employees to carry an even heavier burden.

As government support decreased, MDA says, it took loans to cover operating expenses. These debts now total several million shekels. In addition MDA owes NIS 4 million to the income tax authorities, because money it was supposed to pay as income tax for employees went to pay wages.

When MDA collected several million shekels from a successful annual lottery, the government took much of the money to cover debts, MDA says.

MDA officials say the Health Ministry has offered moral support, but has failed to persuade the Finance Ministry to provide funds. MDA says it is willing to cover its debt to the income tax authorities, but asks that payment be spread out over months or years. The government insists that the debt be covered immediately.

## Engineer to direct communications

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Ben-Ami Gov, who won the Israel Defense Prize in 1970 for his work on the Kfir jet fighter, has been named director-general of the Communications Ministry.

Gov, a mechanical and production engineer in his 60s replaces Yoram

Alster, who resigned to become chairman of the board of directors of the Bezek telecommunications company.

Gov's appointment was approved yesterday by the cabinet. He takes office on May 1.

An Open Letter to  
Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter

POB 24116, Jerusalem,  
(Israel's eternal capital)  
March 28, 1987

Pres. Jimmy Carter  
Past President of the United States of America  
Dear Mr. President:

May we welcome you back to what Zechariah calls "the holy land". Though we too are only "strangers" here, non-Jews: evangelists based in the land of the Book, with its message of Jesus you and we believe is the Jewish Messiah; particularly we preach Israel's precise fulfillment of over three hundred of its prophecies, as utter proof of the Bible's Divine Authorship.

You strove much for its peace; may its God-given remarkable peace in the eye of the Middle East storm, delight you now. You kindly replied in campaign days in 1976, to our commendation of your Bible-based stand for security for Israel, against what you denounced as undermining of her rights and safety, by the Ford-Kissinger administration. We commended your candidacy, on that Bible ground, to many U.S. West Coast churches that year.

Your presidency and influence on Middle East peace might have continued beyond 1980, had you not ended the Almighty's blessing on your presidency, by saying you'd "rather not predicate modern-day boundary lines on the Bible" — as if Mr. Brzezinski, the Trilateralists, Palestinians or compromising appeasers in Israel, could outdo Him in justice or in geography!

God might have overlooked that from someone less important. He could not leave it uncorrected, from a Sunday School teacher, of born-again testimony, in so powerful a position to mislead so many, against the Bible. Acts 17:26 says God "has made of one blood all nations of men... and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation". Genesis 17:21-22, and scores of other Old and New Testament passages give the Jewish nation alone, UNCONDITIONAL and ETERNAL title, to "all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession". Ishmael is excluded!

It defies and contradicts the Bible, to call any of His land "Arab land"! It is no "peace process", but direct invitation to renewed Arab aggression and war, to pressure Israel to defy the Leviticus 25:23 command of the Bible's Author, to violate the instruction: "The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."

Sinai is not part of Eretz Yisrael. Yomit is, and the surrender of that much of His land troubled Israel and flawed the peace with Egypt enough. But to press Israel to "sell" the heartland of His land, on which so much of God's Bible-plan of real peace depends, is to play with God's wrath, and invites war.

This evangelist believes the contradiction of God's Word inherent in all the past, present and future baloney that the Palestinianist claims consists of, is the worst war-engendering aspect of your so-called "peace process". In natural terms it is as evil.

America's solemn Kissinger "guarantee", not to supply Israel's enemies with first-line aircraft, was worthless four years later.

How much less in value, less even than Chamberlain's "peace in our time" scrap of paper with Hitler's autograph, would be any international conference, "peace" or "guarantees"! Rank treachery is all it could mean.

Under the inexorable Genesis 12:3 curse on those who curse the Jewish nation, Sir, your supply of F-15's and all that ensued, to the Saudis, brought on you and on America the loss of Iran, that troubled you to your last hours as president. Will you now repeat that tragedy by lending your prestige to the empty lies of Palestinianism and the treacheries of this "peace process"?

As a professed believer in the Bible, Sir, do you not owe better to its Author, to Christian truth, to peace, to Israel, to America, the Arabs, and to yourself.

(Evangelist) Grant B. Livingstone  
Genesis 12:3 Committee

Grant B. Livingstone

If anyone wishes to amplify this message by its publication in The Jerusalem Post International Edition, any donation, sent to the above address will be gratefully received.

**THE JERUSALEM INTERNATIONAL SPINOZA INSTITUTE**  
and Mishkenot Sha'ananim  
in cooperation with: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
The Jerusalem International Book Fair  
announces a series of international conferences:  
Spinoza by 2004:  
The Jerusalem Conferences  
The conferences will take place bi-annually until the year 2000.

\*  
First Conference, April 1-6, 1987  
Maimonides Faculty Club, Mt. Scopus  
Ethics 1: God and Nature —  
Spinoza's Metaphysics (1987)

Opening Session:  
Wednesday, April 1, 1987, at Maimonides Faculty Club,  
Mt. Scopus 17:30-19:00

The Jerusalem International Spinoza Institute  
studies all the facets of Spinoza's philosophy, including its connection with modern Jewish existence.

For further details or for those interested in registering as supporters or friends, please contact: The Spinoza Institute, Mishkenot Sha'ananim,  
P.O.B. 8215, Jerusalem 91081 Tel: 02-221258, 224321

**noga, haifa**  
Jewelry manufacturers —  
gold, diamonds and precious stones

HAIFA: Kiryat Eliezer,  
10 Rehov Zahal  
Tel. 04-525232  
Open continuously every day

EILAT:  
Eilat Diamond Centre,  
Tel. 052-71619  
We buy old gold

**PASSAGE TO INDIA**  
המסע ל הודו  
THE WORLD'S FIRST GLATT KOSHER  
INDIAN RESTAURANT, "PASSAGE TO INDIA"  
Come capture the spirit of India's varied and exciting cuisines,  
especially prepared for you in a traditional and authentic way,  
by our special team of chefs from India.

**SPECIAL — Businessman's Lunch**  
Book your table NOW — Tel. 02-441438  
1 Yordei Hasra St. — Tel Aviv, Sun. — Thur.: 12:00 — midnight;  
Sat. — 7:00 p.m. — midnight.

WE ALSO SERVE DELICIOUS VEGETARIAN MEALS.

**CHATEAU GOLAN — from Golan grapes**

Buy 3 bottles of  
**Eliasz Chateau Golan**  
and receive a wine rack  
to store your wines properly — FREE.

Eliasz Chateau Golan — the wine you'll love.  
Available at Hyper-Co-op, Super-Sol, Dan Co-op in the Sharon, and  
chosen wine stockists. Available in limited quantity.

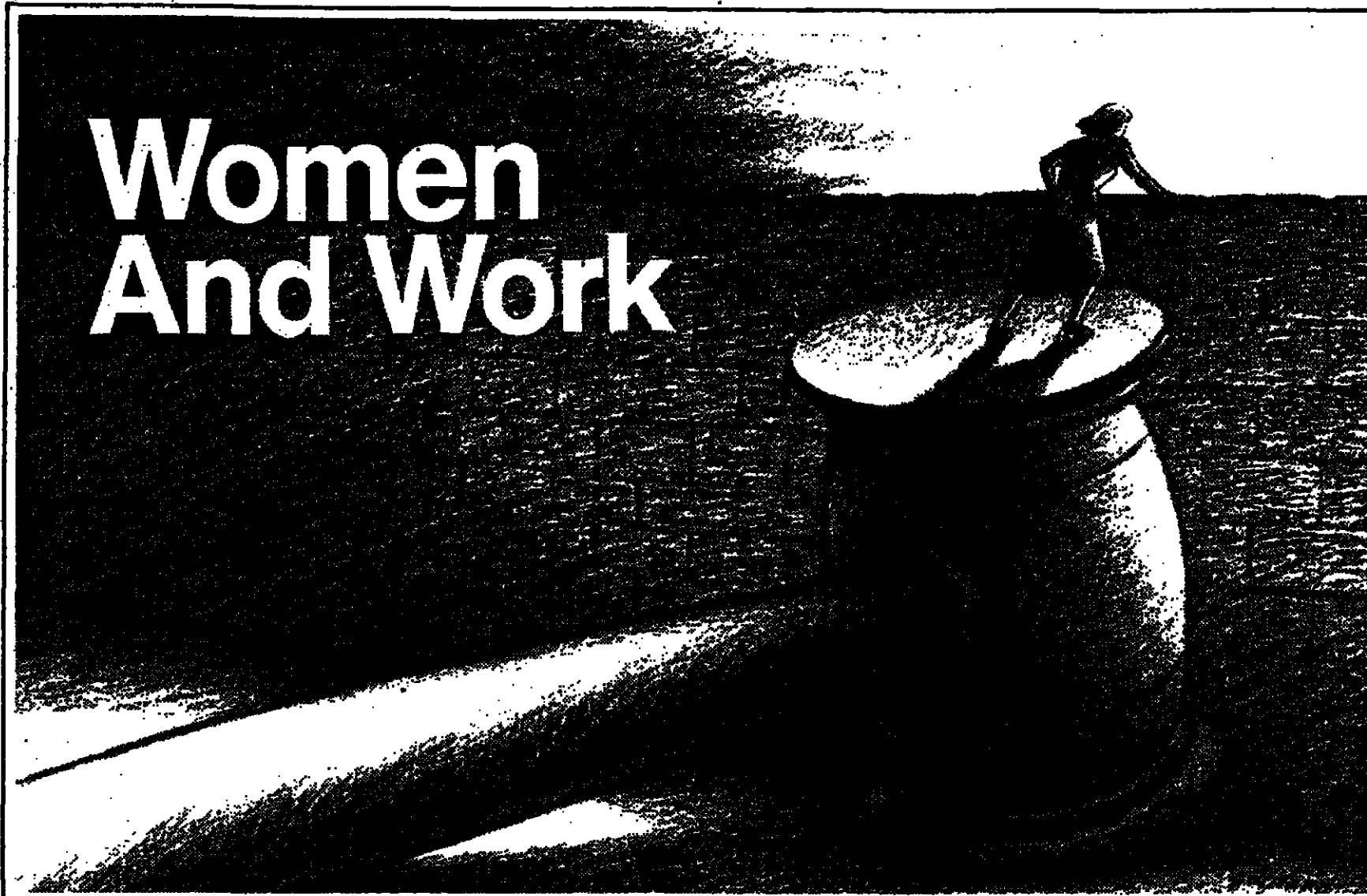
**Bible and Western Culture — a Critical View**

Two lectures by  
Professor Per Lönning (D. Theol. and D. Phil.), Oslo/Strasbourg  
Tuesday, March 31 and Thursday, April 2, 8:30-9:00 p.m.  
A reception will be held after the second lecture.  
Caspari Center for Biblical and Jewish Studies,  
25 Shimon Israel St., Jerusalem.



chief

## Women And Work



### Supreme Court Reaffirms Rejection of a Reagan Tenet

WASHINGTON

It was not only the Supreme Court's most sweeping endorsement of affirmative action after nine years of agonizing, splintering and seesawing on the issue. It was also a stunning setback to the Reagan Administration's last-ditch effort to turn back the kinds of preferences for women and minorities that thousands of employers already have in place.

The case began in 1980 when Diane Joyce was promoted over Paul E. Johnson to a job dispatching road crews in the Santa Clara County, Calif., Transportation Agency. He had scored slightly higher in interviews, but she was given preference under a voluntary affirmative action plan. He sued, charging sex discrimination, under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Last week the Supreme Court ruled against him, 6 to 3, in its first decision ever involving sex-based affirmative action. Justice William J. Brennan Jr.'s majority opinion went beyond the Court's previous approval of racial preferences as a remedy for discrimination. He made clear for the first time that employers may give preferences as long as the purpose is to erase a "manifest imbalance in traditionally segregated job categories" — a very common situation.

The decision, while cautioning against "blind hiring by the numbers," will protect many voluntary and not-so-voluntary affirmative action plans from reverse discrimination suits. It caps a series of five decisions in a year that have shredded the arguments of the Administration, which filed a brief supporting Mr. Johnson, in favor of a "color-blind" and "sex-blind" law.

In his most scathing dissent yet, Justice Antonin Scalia, joined by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justice Byron R. White, said the Court had turned Title VII into "a powerful engine of racism and sexism" — the losers being white males who are "unknown, unaffluent, unorganized."

STUART TAYLOR Jr.

David Gothard

## Anger and Elation at Ruling on Affirmative Action

THOSE on both sides of the issue agree that the Supreme Court's decision in *Johnson v. Transportation Agency* is expansive; as to how fair it is, or how faithful to the purpose of the civil rights laws, opinion is sharp and divided. Kenneth B. Noble, a reporter in the Washington bureau of The New York Times, asked legal experts and public figures to comment on the decision. Excerpts from the interviews follow.

### Clarence Thomas

Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

I thought where the Court was going in its previous cases was to say that there needed to be a finding of egregious discrimination before conscious remedies in the form of quotas or goals were needed. In this case, I think they went far beyond what I thought the Court would do. This is basically throwing out any kind of pretense that explicit race-conscious remedies have to be predicated on a finding of discrimination. It's just social engineering, and we ought to see it for what it is. I don't think the ends justify the means, and we're standing the principle of nondiscrimination on its head — it's simple as that — and we're standing the legislative history of Title VII on its head.

### Drew S. Days 3d

Professor, Yale Law School, and Assistant Attorney General in the Carter Administration

The opinion is very important because it emphasizes the fact that in most job situations, the differences between candidates are rather insignificant. To say that someone who scores a 75 is better than a person who scores 73 does not understand essentially how most employers function, which is to look at a pool of qualified people and select from that pool.

The issue of qualifications has always been lurking in the background of the debate over affirmative action — that it requires less qualified people be selected because of their race or sex — and Johnson cuts into that and makes clear that affirmative action

is not about selecting less qualified people, that it's not talking about a numbers game, but looking more broadly at what we mean about qualifications.

### Linda Chavez

Former staff director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights

It's probably the worst affirmative action decision ever issued by the Supreme Court. . . . It totally moves the discussion of remedies for discrimination away from any need for proving or even alleging discrimination. It essentially allows employers to adopt a plan that is based solely on the numbers of minorities and women in the labor force.

I think, as with many of these decisions, that in a sense it does a great disservice to the intended beneficiaries. In my view, the women's movement was aimed at allowing women to compete on an equal footing without regard to their sex, and I think what this decision does is return us to the 19th-century concept that says women are the weaker sex and need special protections in order to be able to compete.

### Joyce D. Miller

Vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union

It's a wonderful decision because it says, in my judgment, that women don't have to be 100 percent better than a man, which has usually been the informal understanding in order to get ahead.

Some people have misinterpreted this decision; they read it as saying you have to hire inferior women over superior men. But it doesn't say that at all. What it says is, when there is only a slight difference in qualifications, then women deserve an opportunity.

### Betty Friedan

Author of 'The Feminine Mystique' and 'The Second Stage'

All this decision did was to give a signal to employers and to men that despite what the Reagan

Administration has been trying to do, American industry and business has got to continue to work on the principle of equal employment opportunity. . . . I think it's a very, very important decision because with the Reagan Administration there has been a consistent gutting of the machinery enforcing the laws on sex discrimination in employment.

### Charles Murray

Political scientist and author of 'Losing Ground,' a critique of Government social policies

For the last couple of years, there has been an enormous drainage of good will toward racial equality, not just among the rednecks, but among the gentry, in which I would include white intellectuals as well as other professionals. When you look back at the reactions to the Citadel incident and Howard Beach, you find there's a lot of pro forma gesticulating about how this is awful, but there's no passion in it anymore. . . . Affirmative action is just leaking a poison into the system.

### Norman Podhoretz

Editor of Commentary

It seems to me what you have here is a case in which the victim of discrimination is not given relief under a statute whose intention was precisely to protect individuals from discrimination on the basis of race, gender or religion. There's been a complete perversion of the law. . . . I think this decision goes beyond any established precedent and also contradicts at least one precedent in the previous decisions in this area.

### Elizabeth Holtzman

Brooklyn District Attorney

I take issue with Justice Scalia's view that the small number of women in road-building work, for example, has nothing to do with discrimination. I think you have a long history of two factors at work: First, the

discrimination, and secondly, discriminatory attitudes that help shape women's own views of what is appropriate and may even discourage them from applying to begin with. It's a little bit like what happens when you deny black people the right to vote: You don't have to put a gun to the head of every black. Others get the message very quickly.

### Stephen Boskat

Vice president and general counsel, Chamber of Commerce of the United States

This decision is very positive for businesses, since it gives them the freedom to do their own thing, to voluntarily implement their own affirmative action plans without fear of a reverse discrimination suit. There had started to be a real rash of reverse discrimination suits. I know that many businesses were consulting lawyers before implementing affirmative action plans. They were nervous about being caught between a rock and a hard place.

I'd be really surprised if we saw the Supreme Court take any more affirmative action cases. I think they've expended their words.

### Ramsey Clark

Former United States Attorney General

To me it demonstrates the enduring quality of the Supreme Court as an institution. It may seem to be getting off the track or bending to the national mood for a period, but over the long haul it keeps a pretty true course toward fulfillment of basic constitutional rights. And these decisions, which have surprised a lot of people, demonstrate this again. . . . The idea that the 14th Amendment intended to freeze things as they were so that only national evolution could fulfill its mandate is unthinkable; therefore, affirmative action was always essential, indeed, a duty.

There's no question that you find men that have been denied a promotion, or whatever, and are very angry about it, but consider how blacks and women and others must have felt, and how helpless for all those centuries.

## Soviet Emigration, Pollard Case Prompt Rare Open Debate

## U.S. Jews and Israelis: A Question of Identity

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

JERUSALEM

IN the last few weeks there has been an unusually high level of tension between some American Jews and some Israeli Jews. Underlying their debate is the fact that as much as they have in common, they often interpret the meaning of Jewish history and the significance of the state of Israel in very different terms.

The tension started when Israel's Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, told American Jews that they should oppose Soviet Jews' being granted refugee status in the United States, so that these Jews would be compelled to come to Israel first. Matters were aggravated when an American Jew, Jonathan J. Pollard, the former naval intelligence analyst, was sentenced to life imprisonment for spying for Israel, and the Israeli Government refused to punish the officials who ran the operation.

Several top American Jewish leaders recently sat down with Mr. Shamir and told him firmly that Israel's actions had deeply offended many Jews in the United States. This prompted an angry reaction from some Israelis and provoked one widely discussed article in the Jerusalem Post by Shlomo Avineri, the political theorist, who accused United States Jews of being insecure in their American identities because of the way that they rushed to disassociate themselves from the Pollard operation. The underlying theme of the Avineri article was that American Jews are not as at home in the United States as they imagine and so they all might as well emigrate to Israel.

For two Jewish communities that normally never

wash their dirty laundry in public, it was suddenly all out there on the clothes line. "We discussed our feelings frankly and we got some things off our chests," said Hyman Bookbinder of the American Jewish Committee.

The roots of the current tension go back before the creation of the state of Israel. Israel's founding fathers came out of the ghettos of Eastern Europe, and this was their model for the world. They assumed that once a Jewish state was established all Jews in the diaspora would either move to Israel or else gradually disappear — either through physical persecution or cultural extinction.

What Israel's founders could not imagine were two things: First, that the United States could be open, pluralistic and tolerant enough to let Jews feel totally at home there and live a safe and vibrant Jewish existence, with the full range of human occupations available to them. And second, that Israel would capture the imagination of Jews in the diaspora who, nevertheless, would not actually want to come live in Israel.

In fact, both things happened: The United States grew into a second Jewish homeland, and a major competitor with Israel for Jewish immigrants. Today, roughly 6 million Jews live in the United States and only 3.5 million in Israel. At the same time, "Israel became central to Jews in America, not as a political or geographical option, but as the carrier of Jewish history," said an Israeli philosopher, David Hartman. "Jews all over the world came to look on Israel as the energy center that would represent the continuity of Jewish history in the future, as well as their link to Amos, Isaiah and the drama of Jewish history in the past."

But while Israel found itself playing this spiritual identity role for Jews, both at home and abroad, it was at



Recent arrival in Israel from Soviet Union.

the same time a modern nation state, with its own interests, politics, criminals and national security problems.

This helps to explain a great deal about the current tensions. When the Pollard affair broke, many American Jews were appalled at the idea that Israel could have acted in a way that called into question their sense of belonging in the United States. Some Israelis countered by saying, in effect, that the security of their state required the gathering intelligence by any means available. For

Israelis, Mr. Pollard was acting out of allegiance to Israel's survival as a nation state. For many American Jews, Mr. Pollard was violating their ability to reconcile their commitments to Israel, as the source of their Jewish spiritual feelings and identities, with their commitment to the United States as their political home.

The same mutual misunderstanding was present on the issue of Soviet Jews. Because many American Jews see Israel as the carrier of the best values of Jewish history, they assume it would always act in a way to save Jews, no matter where they are. Some American Jews were shocked to hear an Israeli minister say that Soviet Jews who get out of the Soviet Union on Israeli visas "can rot" in Europe if they don't want to come to Israel. Last week, there were signs that the Soviet Union may be ready to let out as many as 10,000 Jews this year. (U.S., U.S.S.R. to discuss emigration, page 3.) Since many Jews in the United States believe that they can be loyal Americans and fulfilled Jews, while at the same time identifying spiritually, culturally and emotionally with the state of Israel, they believe Soviet Jews are entitled to the same opportunity. Israeli officials counter that Israel needs Jewish bodies if it is to survive as a nation state at war with its neighbors. More important, some Israelis find it difficult to concede that the United States is a viable option for Jewish existence, because this admission challenges Israel's very reason for being.

That is why some Israelis were elated when Professor Avineri argued that the reaction of American Jews to the Pollard affair only proved that they felt as insecure as Iranian or Soviet Jews. Others, though, joined Mr. Hartman in arguing that if Israel does not act in a way that always places the well-being of the Jewish people at its center, it relinquishes its right to claim the allegiance of all Jews. "What is at stake is the soul of a nation," said Mr. Hartman. "The question is: Is Israel an instrument serving the Jewish people, or are the Jewish people instruments for serving the political state of Israel?"



# The World

## U.S. to Raise Tariffs on Some Japanese Imports

In the first American economic retaliation against Japan since World War II, the Reagan Administration last week decided to double the import tariffs on a range of Japanese consumer electronic products.

President Reagan, though an advocate of unfettered free trade, agreed to the sanctions after his trade officials convinced him that the Japanese had violated an agreement signed in July on semiconductors. Under that accord, the Japanese agreed to open up their country to American semiconductors, the building blocks of computers and hundreds of other electronic products, and to stop dumping their own chips in other countries.

Malcolm Baldrige, the Commerce Secretary, said the action was taken "more in sorrow than in anger." The Japanese said they found the move "deeply regrettable" but stepped back from earlier threats to retaliate. Some in Congress said they would have welcomed Japanese retaliation because it might have stirred the United States into even more punitive measures.

The action, which would affect \$300 million a year of annual imports, is aimed at six Japanese companies that were found to be selling chips last year at prices below the cost of production.

The White House has not yet decided on the specific hit list, but will select the targets after a two-week period of public comment. They will be drawn from a group of products that includes measuring equipment, calculators, personal computers, air conditioning machines, pumps, stereo components and photographic film.

The prices for those products will go up, but Administration officials said consumers would be unaffected because there are suitable American-made substitutes.

## Two Marines Held As Moscow Spies

The Marine Corps announced the arrest of a second enlisted man last week in an investigation of what it described as espionage at the United States Embassy in Moscow. The two men had been seduced and recruited by Soviet women, one a cook and one a translator, who worked at the embassy, officials said. The case is believed to be the first allegation of espionage involving Marine guards in the 38 years the Marine Corps has provided guards for American embassies around the world.

The officials said they strongly suspected that the two Marines, who served together in Moscow in 1985 and 1986, had allowed Soviet agents to enter high-security areas of the embassy. The potential damage was said to be great because Soviet agents might have gained access to American intelligence files including such information as the identification of Soviet citizens working for the Central Intelligence Agency.

"We are treating this as a very serious breach," said Charles Red-



Sgt. Clayton J. Lonetree



Cpl. Arnold Bracy

man, the State Department spokesman. "I don't think we know how bad it is."

The two Marines are Cpl. Arnold Bracy, 21 years old, from the New York City borough of Queens, whose arrest in California was announced last week, and Sgt. Clayton J. Lonetree, 25 years old, who was arrested in December.

The Marines prepared charges, including espionage, for a court martial against Sergeant Lonetree. Under military law, the maximum penalty for espionage is death. Charges were also expected to be made against Corporal Bracy.

## Aquino Goes for Military Victory

The olive branch did not work. Corazon C. Aquino said, so she is taking up the sword against leftist insurgents and rightist terrorists. Speaking at graduation ceremonies last week at the Philippine Military Academy, President Aquino said her offers of peace and reconciliation had been met "with the most bloody and insolent rejections." She vowed to "smite the foe" and go for military victories in both quarters.

Communist insurgents walked out on peace talks in January and refused to extend a two-month ceasefire in February. In the ensuing fighting, nearly 400 people have been killed, at least 70 of them Government soldiers in the last two weeks.

And in a suspected rightist attack 11 days ago, which Mrs. Aquino said was directed at her, a bomb killed four people and wounded more than 30 at a rehearsal for the military graduation. Several soldiers were questioned as suspects. At least one of them was said to have links to officers involved in an apparent coup attempt in January at a Manila television station.

## Defeated Libyans Fleeing in Chad

Chad, a sparsely populated vastness of Saharan desert and African savanna, has been a battlefield for factions armed and aided mainly by Libya and France for nearly all the 26 years since General de Gaulle declared its "independence" in 1960. Last week, French-backed forces of President Hissen Habré announced sweeping victories over Libyans and their poorly trained Islamic Legion. Senior officials in Paris and Washington savored the prospect of lost prestige for Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Libyan leader, and eventual control of the entire country by Chad's central Government.

Chad said its troops had retaken Faya-Largeau, the most important oasis in the north. Thousands of Libyans retreated northward after suffering heavy losses of men and armor, French military sources said; the loss of the strategic landing strip at Wadi Doum prevented the Libyans' being resupplied by air.

Richard L. Armitage, an Assistant Secretary of Defense, said that Chad, which also got significant United States help, had inflicted "the most significant military and psychological defeat" of the war on Colonel Qaddafi. Predicting he would be viewed in Africa as "almost a comic parody," Mr. Armitage said "fear of Qaddafi is lessening daily."

## By 1999 Portugal Will Leave China

For 430 years, Macao, a gambling haven on the South China Sea, has been a colony of Portugal. Last week, Portugal and China agreed that China will take back the colony in 1999, two years after Britain is to give back Hong Kong, 40 miles to the northeast. Prime Ministers Zhao Ziyang of China and Mario Soares of Portugal are to sign the agreement next month, making Portugal, the first European country to establish itself on the Asian mainland, the last to give up its colony in China.

Like Hong Kong, Macao will be guaranteed 50 years in which Communist China will not interfere in its capitalist system. The agreement also provides that a committee of Chinese and Portuguese officials is to work out a new political and legal system for the enclave, which has 420,000 people, 97 percent of them ethnically Chinese.

The city has many gambling casinos and massage parlors and depends heavily on the 4.2 million tourists who visit each year, mostly from Hong Kong. Macao was settled permanently by Portugal in 1557, and architecturally has a Portuguese look, with street signs in Portuguese and Chinese. But only 3 percent of the people speak Portuguese.

"We have had a long summer holiday, but the holiday is finished," said the Rev. Domingos Lam, the Roman Catholic Vicar General of Macao. "Everything will change."

James F. Clarity,  
Katherine Roberts  
and Milt Freudenheim

## Peng Never Stopped Opposing 'Pernicious' Western Ideas

# A Leader From China's Past Exerts a Growing Influence on Nation's Future

By EDWARD A. GARGAN

BEIJING  
IN December 1967, Peng Zhen was dragged into a Beijing gymnasium, his clothes torn, his face bloated after a year in prison. Young Red Guards yelled "despicable swine" and cheered as Mr. Peng, a leader of the Communist revolution and former Mayor of Beijing, was pushed and kicked by his captors.

Twelve years later, China's new leader, Deng Xiaoping, brought Mr. Peng, by then 77 years old, back into the ruling Politburo. He became one of the most vociferous detractors of Mr. Deng's moves to open up the Chinese economy and is now a chief orchestrator of the return to orthodoxy.

Other party leaders had returned to their posts three years before Mr. Peng and that delay is still often cited as a source of friction between the two men.

Of much greater significance, however, are the deep philosophical differences between them. While Mr. Deng looked to Western capitalism for China's economic model, Mr. Peng adamantly defended tight state control over economic, social and political life.

Some Western and Asian diplomats here say that even before this winter's crackdown on dissent, Mr. Peng used his position as chairman of the National People's Congress, the country's legislative body, as a brake on some of the reforms. And as the changes swept China, particularly in the countryside, reining in the absolute authority of party bureaucrats and diminishing the role of ideology, his was one of the few voices that rallied against replacing Marxist doctrine with Western notions.

After the abrupt crackdown in January that followed a series of student demonstrations, Mr. Peng and other hard-line Chinese leaders are dominating the country's newspapers and television screens with harsh attacks on "bourgeois liberalization," code words for democracy and free expression. Diplomats and other experts here believe that Mr. Peng is one of the leaders charting the country's new course.

Last week, Mr. Peng, wearing a traditional



Peng Zhen, chairman of the National People's Congress.

high-collared Mao jacket, presided over the opening session of the annual meeting of the People's Congress. In a speech to the delegates, Zhao Ziyang, the acting party General Secretary since Hu Yaobang's dismissal in January, told the delegates that the economic initiatives would continue, but that "pernicious" Western ideas would not be tolerated. Earlier this month, the

standing committee of the congress declined to act on a measure that would have given factory managers some freedom from state control and placed other limits on the party's power over the economy.

Mr. Peng has pushed strong central planning since the 1950's. In 1960, as Chinese relations with the Soviet Union rapidly deteriorated, Mr. Peng engaged in a shouting match with Nikita S. Khrushchev, who argued that Mao had lost touch with the world. Mr. Peng defended both Stalin and Mao, asserting that Mr. Khrushchev was betraying Communist principles.

Mr. Peng's political difficulties began in 1966 when he and other party leaders tried to stifle the Cultural Revolution, Mao's movement to "cleanse" the party. Like many other leaders, including Deng Xiaoping, Mr. Peng was swept from power and imprisoned, his family disgraced. His 86-year-old mother was forced to stand on a dunghill while she was denounced.

With his return to prominence in 1979, Mr. Peng focused his energies on building the power of the National People's Congress and establishing himself as a party ideologist. Last November, when many intellectuals and party members were predicting democratic reforms, Mr. Peng challenged the trend in a carefully worded speech that Western diplomats said at the time was at odds with the political climate.

"Some people look to bourgeois democracy as if capitalist society were even brighter than our sun," he said.

Now, Mr. Peng's language is more blunt. "Some people say that reform means 'de-Marxist-Leninization' and 'de-Maoization' and that upholding Marxism-Leninism means opposition to reform," Mr. Peng said in a recent speech. "Such an argument is put forward from ignorance or misunderstanding or is aimed at provocation."

Mr. Deng and Mr. Zhao have insisted that the campaign for political conformity will not affect economic reforms. But Mr. Peng, who has groomed many younger party members who share his hard-line views, does not yet seem ready to move into the shadows of retirement.

## State Leaders Defy a Weakened Kohl Government

# For West Germany, an Eastward Tug



Reuters; Associated Press (Brandt)



Erich Honecker (above left), the East German leader, meeting with Franz Josef Strauss, Premier of Bavaria, in Leipzig, East Germany, this month; Willy Brandt on his way to announce his resignation as chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Bonn last week.

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

BONN  
THE political course of West Germany, the continental pivot of the Atlantic alliance, looks like it will be influenced by two important factors in the coming months. One is the palpable weakness of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's conservative Government, notably in its dealings with restless state barons of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, and the other is a sudden warming of Bonn's relations with Moscow and East Berlin. The two are connected.

Willy Brandt's resignation last week as chairman of the opposition Social Democratic Party removed a politician whose greatest legacy was West Germany's reconciliation with nations of Eastern Europe that were conquered by the Nazis. The 73-year-old former chancellor left in a storm touched off by his decision to name a young Greek woman as party spokeswoman.

Even he admitted that the misstep provoked party members to express their deeper dissatisfactions: Increasingly, Mr. Brandt was seen as being arbitrary and out of touch with the party

grass roots, and he has ruffled party colleagues with unkind remarks about them.

The Christian Democrats once vociferously opposed Mr. Brandt's treaties with East Germany, the Soviet Union and Poland. Now some party members are talking privately about loosening some of the party's harshest positions on the German question, such as the refusal to recognize East German citizenship; the emotive word "reunification" has vanished from official speeches.

Indeed, it was Christian Democratic politicians who led the rush to the East this month, to be seen shaking hands at the Leipzig fair with Erich Honecker, the East German Communist leader. Two Christian Democratic state premiers, Franz Josef Strauss of Bavaria and Lothar Späth of Baden-Württemberg, were eager to strike bilateral deals with East Germany that would stoke their booming regional economies. With Chancellor Kohl holding a very loose rein over West Germany's federal system, the state premiers are increasingly conducting what amount to their own foreign policies.

Defiance of Bonn's authority occurs almost daily. Mr. Späth has threatened to leave the fed-

eral research and development organization, claiming his eager state can do better alone. In prosperous Baden-Württemberg, he has subsidized the development of a giant industrial consortium built around Daimler-Benz.

In Bavaria, Mr. Strauss has stoutly defended the interests of the local arms and airline industry. In order to guarantee a market for the Airbus — a company of which he happens to be chairman — Mr. Strauss has thwarted Bonn's efforts to privatize Lufthansa. Even the government of Mr. Kohl's home state, Rhineland-Palatinate, says it will vote against a tax cut decided by his coalition.

## Eastward Bound

These are interesting waters for Moscow and East Berlin to fish in. In West Berlin, allied diplomats are concerned that Mr. Honecker has learned to play one state leader off against another, and has managed to put such pressure on Eberhard Diepgen, the city's Christian Democratic mayor, that he now feels he must join the barons in getting himself photographed with the Communist chief in East Berlin.

Mr. Honecker and Mr. Diepgen have invited each other to attend festivities for the 750th anniversary of Berlin's founding on both sides of the Berlin wall. In 1961, Mr. Honecker oversaw the building of that wall; it will be a symbolic triumph for him if he crosses the ugly barrier next month for the first time and is solemnly welcomed in West Berlin.

Almost inevitably, Mr. Kohl and his Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, are also looking eastward. Although Mr. Kohl's three-party coalition was re-elected in January, his Christian Democrats had their poorest score since the founding of the Federal Republic in 1949.

They are heading into a series of uphill state elections, starting with industrial Hesse next month and Hamburg and Rhineland-Palatinate in May. An export-led economic upswing is sinking fast, and the prospects for foreign-policy breakthroughs within the European Community or NATO are slim.

Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, is suddenly obliging. Before the election, Moscow orchestrated a shrill campaign denouncing Mr. Kohl for having compared Mr. Gorbachev's propaganda skills to those of the Nazi propaganda chief, Josef Goebbels. But now Mr. Gorbachev has indicated that the West German Chancellor is out of the penalty box.

A state visit by President Richard von Weizsäcker to the Soviet Union is planned for May, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, is expected here after that. Visits by Mr. Kohl to Moscow and Mr. Gorbachev to Bonn in 1988 are under discussion.

It is possible to argue that it was Mr. Kohl's pro-NATO steadfastness — most conspicuous in deploying American missiles in 1983 — that has forced Moscow to deal with him. Yet Mr. Gorbachev cannot be displeased by the Chancellor's plumping for the removal of American and Soviet medium-range missiles from Europe, or by Foreign Minister Genscher's arguments that NATO must support the Russian leader's innovative course.

Lenin argued that the road to the political domination of Europe led through Berlin and Germany, and Mr. Gorbachev is an avowed Lenin fan.



## The Moscow Negotiations: Setting a Global Tone

## Arms Talks Have Impact on Much More Than Weaponry

By DAVID K. SHIPLER

**T**HE Soviet-American relationship is tethered to arms control. The range of compromise and cooperation in trade, human rights, cultural and scientific exchange, third world conflicts and other areas is defined by the negotiations to contain the nuclear arms race. The prospect of an arms accord increases the possible range. Failure or impasse restricts conciliation and affects the entire circle of issues between the superpowers.

This is the geometry of the situation as Secretary of State George P. Shultz prepares to take a large team of Administration officials to Moscow April 13-15. And as became clear last week from public statements, important obstacles remain on the arms issue, but there is also a chance of success on arms and other issues.

"The Soviet leadership is preoccupied with their domestic situation," Arthur A. Hartman, who just returned from more than five years as United States Ambassador to Moscow, said last week in a reference to Mikhail S. Gorbachev's efforts to modernize the economy. "Our relationship is colored highly by the Soviet reactions to what they really have to do internally. And I think basically what they would like to have now is a period of calm. And therefore, there could well be opportunities for serious negotiations in a variety of fields."

The key question in Mr. Shultz's Moscow trip is expected to be the nuclear arms talks, specifically the attempt to conclude a treaty eliminating intermediate-range missiles from Europe. After linking such an agreement to a broader strategic arms accord, Moscow de-linked it a month ago, opening the way for a separate treaty. Problems remain in working out means of verification, including on-site inspection, and in regulating deployment of short-range missiles, leading the chief Soviet negotiator, Viktor Karpov, to accuse the United States last week of not wanting an agreement, of making a proposal that was "a bluff from the very start."

## The Warm-Up

Such posturing may be just a warm-up for the serious bargaining yet to come. Probably, progress in those talks will shape Moscow's readiness to deal on other matters. Weapons technology advances so much faster than diplomacy, and controlling nuclear weapons is so complex, that the difficulty of arms negotiations ought not to inhibit progress in other areas. And while the Soviet Union has traditionally made arms control the centerpiece of Soviet-American relations, the two powers are rarely very close to success. Furthermore, the United States has a broader view of the relationship, placing considerably more emphasis than Moscow on managing Soviet-American competition in other parts of the world, such as Central America, especially Nicaragua, the Middle East and Africa. This grows partly out of the painful American experience in Vietnam and the

sulting desire to avoid the kind of superpower competition that magnifies regional conflicts. But the two views do not mesh; Washington gets dragged into the narrower Soviet definition and finds only frustration.

The Reagan Administration has pressed for dialogue with the Russians on regional issues in recent years, but with little concrete effect except a richer understanding of each other's positions and evaluations of the regional situations. Two weeks ago, Michael H. Armacost, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, conducted such talks in Moscow, reportedly focusing on Afghanistan as well as other issues. Although Mr. Gorbachev has spoken repeatedly of wanting to withdraw from Afghanistan, Washington doubts that the Russians have resigned themselves to seeing the collapse of the pro-Soviet Government in Kabul. "Until you get serious about removing the Communist Party from power," a senior Administration official observed, "there's not going to be any national reconciliation or political settlement." A rapid Soviet withdrawal would allow the Afghan rebels to settle the situation "by the gun and the knife," he added.

## 'Talk to the Cubans'

Ambassador Hartman sees the regional talks as more useful now than initially, when Soviet officials simply recited well-known policies. "The later meetings got a little looser," he said. On the Angola question, for example, "The Soviets say, 'You ought to talk a little more to the Cubans,'" a comment that suggests that Cuban actions there are not tightly controlled from Moscow. Soviet authorities have also expressed impatience about paying huge sums for the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, Mr. Hartman said, providing some insight into Moscow's frustrations with its clients.

"It does develop personal contacts," said another American official, "contacts which can be used if a crisis develops. Eventually, you may come across things out of these talks that the two sides can do together — joint or parallel action. That hasn't happened yet." Some diplomats are convinced that such dialogue can reduce tension. "The Soviets think we have a secret game plan to put military forces close to their southern border," the official observed. "They look at our Rapid Deployment Force, the marines in Beirut, now the patrol in the Persian Gulf. It is useful to tell them that that is not our purpose, that our concern is with freedom of navigation. They may not believe us, but it helps."

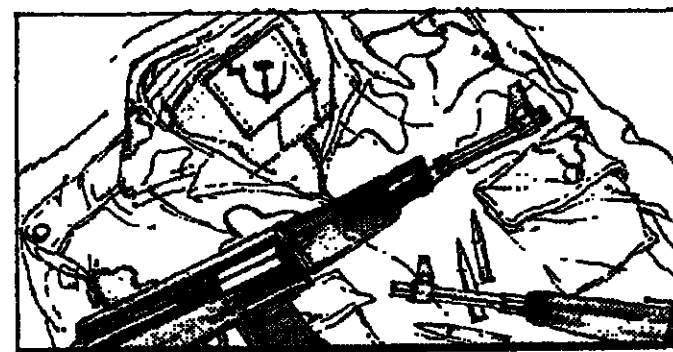
On human rights, Mr. Gorbachev's release of more than 100 political prisoners and an increase in emigration of Soviet Jews this month have given Administration officials some hope that more improvements may come. But there were reminders in Washington last week of how severe the issue can be. Leon Charny stood near the Soviet Embassy in a vigil for his brother, Benjamin, a cancer patient in Moscow who has been denied permission to emigrate. And Alexander Slepak began a hunger strike on the Capitol's steps for his parents, Vladimir and Mariya Slepak. He plans to fast for 17 days, one day for every year that they have been denied exit visas.



## Four Issues High on Agenda

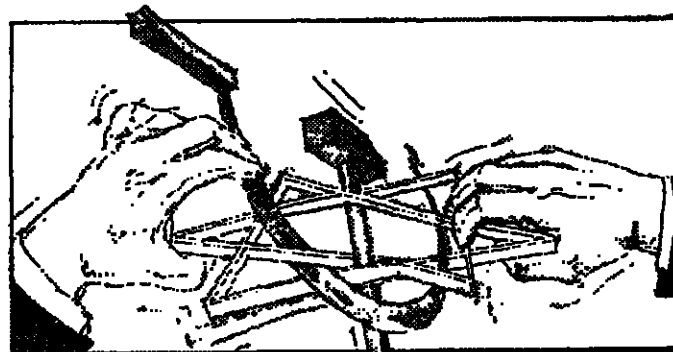
## Arms Control

Talks on banning American and Soviet medium-range nuclear weapons from Europe have encountered difficulties over short-range missile strengths.



## Central America

The United States trains and supplies the Nicaraguan contras in their campaign to overthrow the Sandinista Government, which is supported and supplied by the Soviet Union.



## Emigration

The United States wants Moscow to permit more Jews, and others, to emigrate. There has been movement: some 400 Soviet Jews got permission to leave in March, the highest monthly rate since 1981.



## Afghanistan

The 115,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan sustain a pro-Soviet Government in Kabul. Anti-Government guerrillas are supplied by the United States.

## Both Have Nuclear Capability

## India and Pakistan Avoid Declaring War — or Peace

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

**A**SLAMABAD, Pakistan — NUCLEAR arms race in South Asia has long been a nightmare for the rest of the world. Now India and Pakistan seem closer than ever to going down this path, with little evident prospect that they will be able to turn back. Despite endless threats and three wars in 40 years, India and Pakistan are far from the verge of armed conflict. But they also seem unable to fashion a workable peace.

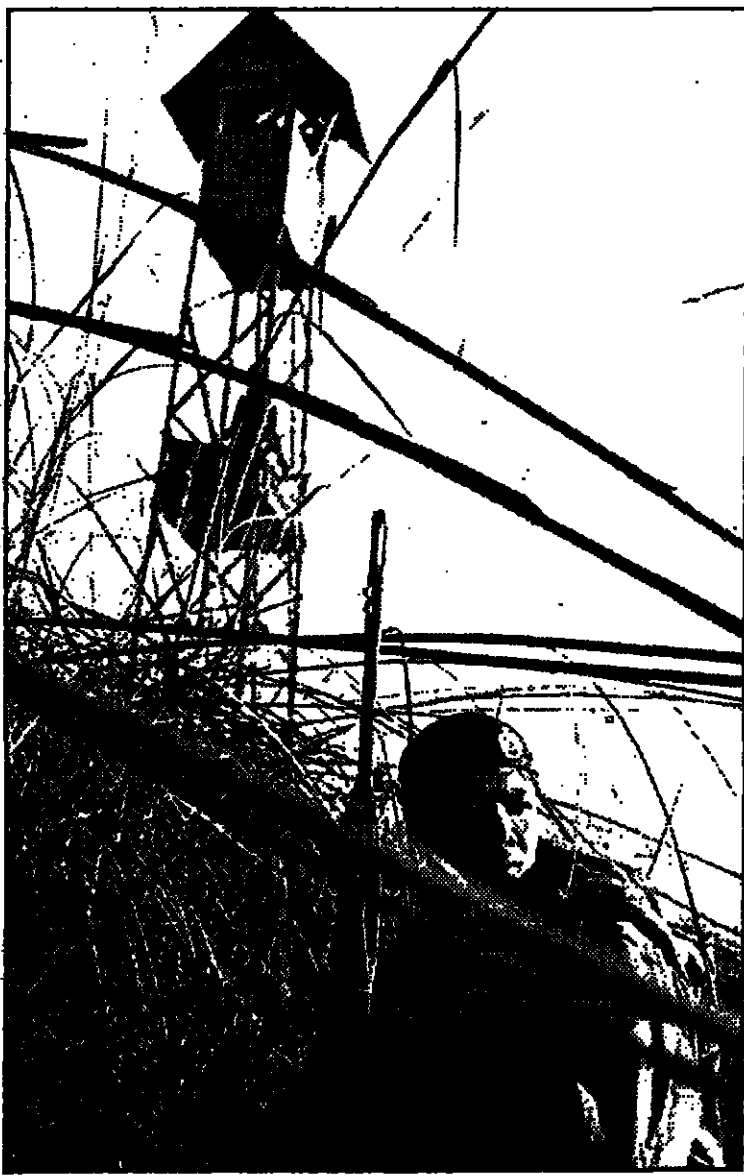
Most Western experts agree that nuclear weapons would make the region a more dangerous place, although some analysts take the highly unorthodox view that nuclear arms could actually bring stability, much as the nuclear threat may have diminished the chances of superpower conflict. But while Washington and Moscow engage in a range of nuclear negotiations, India and Pakistan have not even agreed to talk about nuclear subjects. A pledge in 1985 by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India and President Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan not to attack each other's nuclear facilities has never been put in writing. Beyond this and unlike the West, where there is widespread anxiety over the possibility of war, popular sentiment seems to compel India and Pakistan toward confrontation.

In Pakistan's case, the United States has for years warned that acquiring a nuclear deterrent would jeopardize American military assistance and create more defense problems than it solved. American policymakers now concede that their persuasion has failed. Diplomats say that after giving the requisite denial that their country actually has the bomb, Pakistanis invariably endorse the logic of acquiring a nuclear deterrent to what is perceived as India's military superiority.

Many Indian leaders express mixed feelings about producing nuclear weapons, partly because of the high cost and because they do not fit the legacy of nonviolent struggle. But India exploded what it called a "peaceful nuclear device" in 1974 — a warning aimed at China, not Pakistan. And many experts feel India may be stockpiling weapons-grade fuel at facilities closed to international inspection.

## Shopping for a Supercomputer

Equally threatening, perhaps, India has launched an immense buildup of conventional military forces that in Pakistan's view is also



Indian soldier patrolling along the Pakistani border.

spurring the nuclear race. By some calculations, Indian military spending has jumped nearly 40 percent in two years and is expected to cost \$11 billion next year, more than a third of the national budget. Questions about the wisdom of so drastic a buildup are dealt with sharply. Mr. Gandhi recently told Parliament, "Anyone suggesting a cut in defense spending is being antinational and sabotaging the very integrity and independence of this nation."

Indian military intentions were a factor in last week's American offer to sell India a supercomputer. India says it needs the technology for weather prediction and other scientific uses. The

terms reportedly would provide for American inspection and require that the computer not be used for military purposes or made available to the Soviet Union, which has close military ties with India.

The effects of the conventional buildup could be seen earlier this year when large-scale Indian war games provoked Pakistan to send reinforcements to the border. India retaliated along other sectors and soon 340,000 troops were facing each other, stirring fears of accidental conflict. The Indian border exercise redoubled the conviction of many in Pakistan that a bomb is necessary to balance India's conventional advantage on the east and the Soviet presence in Afghanistan to the northwest.

For years, India has dismissed Pakistani and American denials that Pakistan is preparing to produce nuclear weapons. But recent events have made it apparent that Pakistan is probably on the threshold of possessing a bomb, if it does not already have one. This has exposed deep ambivalence in the Reagan Administration and Congress, where sympathies for Pakistan are high because of its role in helping the Afghan rebels.

## A Condition for Aid

A debate in Washington has been provoked by the Reagan Administration's proposed \$4.02 billion in aid for Pakistan. The existing \$3.2 billion package, which expires this year, has been contingent on an Administration assertion that Pakistan does not "possess" a bomb. Administration officials argue that this is still true, but others say this is hair-splitting. By President Zia's admission, Pakistan has developed the necessary technology, apparently including the ability to enrich uranium.

As for Pakistan's professions of benign intent, the American Ambassador, Deane R. Hinton, acknowledged recently that many Pakistani actions were "inconsistent" with a peaceful program. He gave no examples but other analysts made it clear that he was referring to uranium enrichment and news reports that Pakistan had purchased or smuggled weapons technology from the West.

Administration aides argue that American aid is an inhibiting factor, pointing out that Pakistan has not exploded or perhaps even assembled a bomb. Indian officials are known to feel that Pakistan soon will announce that it has a weapon, but Americans strongly disagree. In the view of many, Pakistan has at least held the high ground diplomatically by promising to sign any agreement banning nuclear weapons and to accept international inspections if India does the same. Meanwhile, both countries are restrained for now by one important factor. Neither is believed to have a bomber or rocket that could deliver a nuclear weapon. Some experts think such a delivery capability is years away — small consolation for those who say that movement toward such a frightening condition is inevitable.

## Mulroney to Press Reagan

By JOHN F. BURNS

**W**HEN Vice President Bush visited Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in Ottawa in January, more than one Canadian newspaper columnist pointed out that Mr. Bush had dressed for the bitter cold in a short, unlined raincoat. It was a symbolic detail for many Canadians, who often complain that American leaders are woefully ill-informed about their northern neighbor.

That sensitivity will no doubt be even more acute next Sunday when President Reagan is in Ottawa for the annual meeting between the two heads of state. Mr. Mulroney warned Mr. Bush that Canada was tired of being on Washington's "back burner" and that he would watch for signs that Canada's concerns were being taken more seriously.

Mr. Reagan has tried to answer Mr. Mulroney's challenge by announcing that he would seek \$2.5 billion for acid rain research over the next five years. But Mr. Mulroney's critics called the plan cosmetic, saying that Mr. Reagan was only making good on a pledge he made a year ago and subsequently abandoned.

The Canadians argue that only quick action, not more research, will reduce the pollution from coal-burning plants in the Ohio Valley that reacts in the atmosphere and returns to earth in the form of acid precipitation. Experts say United States emissions are responsible for killing lakes and forests in eastern Canada.

An inability to persuade the Reagan Administration to impose mandatory emission controls is seen here as only one example of Ottawa's lack of influence in Washington.

A common complaint is that Britain, West Germany and Japan exercise greater leverage on the issues that matter to them, although Canada is America's leading trading partner and the two countries have a broad bilateral relationship.

Mr. Mulroney's problems with Washington are only part of deeper troubles at home. A sequence of Cabinet resignations and dismissals has fueled doubts about the probity of some people swept into office in the Conservative Party's 1984 landslide victory over the Liberal Party. The 47-year-old Prime Minister

began his mandate by saying that the Conservatives had been shut out of the advantages of public life for too long. But patronage appointments and contracts for the party's friends as well as skulduggery that has resulted in a number of criminal investigations have raised questions.

But in the long run, whether or not the Government succeeds in reviving its popularity — the Conservatives' support was 24 percent in a recent Gallup poll, compared with 41 percent for the Liberals — is likely to depend at least as much on the course of relations with the United States. Already, there are predictions that the election expected in 1989 could turn out to be a referendum on attitudes toward the United States.

From the outset Mr. Mulroney declared that he would take a more accommodating attitude toward Washington than did former Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, whose prickly intellectual ways irritated several American Presidents. Calculating that more could "be gained from cooperation than confrontation," Mr. Mulroney launched the most ambitious attempt since World War II to redefine the relationship.

The centerpiece has been negotiations for a "free trade" pact that would eliminate tariffs and other economic barriers. After months of stalemate, those discussions recently picked up, and lately there has been talk of a preliminary pact as early as June. But it appears the accord may skirt some tricky issues, including the right of the United States to use its "countervail" mechanisms to impose punitive duties against Canadian goods judged to have been unfairly subsidized.

Some Canadians, including recent immigrants from Asia and Latin America, say they would be happy to see closer integration of the two nations. But many more, opinion polls show, find the idea unappealing, or worse. Several prominent figures have responded to Mr. Mulroney's campaign with warnings about Canada's being "taken over" by the United States.

For the critics, a satisfactory relationship would begin with the assurance that the Washington takes Canada seriously. It is for that, as much as for details on free trade or acid rain, that they will be watching Mr. Reagan closely next weekend.

# The Nation

## Reagan Takes His 'New Agenda' On an Old Road

With the new White House team promoting cooperation and its leader outfitted with what his spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, called "a new agenda," President Reagan took the road last week on the first legs of a drive intended to turn public attention to domestic policy and away from the Iran-contra scandals.

But on Capitol Hill, where he lobbied House Republicans to sustain a veto of an \$87.9 billion highway and mass transit bill, his tone was more confrontational than conciliatory, and the substance more familiar than new. And out in the country,

on his first trip away from Washington this year, to talk about education at a National Governors' Association meeting in Columbia, Mo., Mr. Reagan himself apparently turned the discussion to the Iran affair.

The highway bill passed both House and Senate by large majorities over Mr. Reagan's objection that it was \$10 billion too big. Commenting before the fact on Mr. Reagan's veto, which came Friday, Bob Dole of Kansas, the Senate Republican leader, said, "It's high risk, but it's necessary."

The risk was the possible embarrassment to Mr. Reagan of a successful override vote; it was necessary, Mr. Dole said, because the President needed "to demonstrate that he's in charge," as well as hold the line on Federal spending.

By week's end, some Republicans who supported the bill — Mr. Dole did not — were agreeing with Mr. Dole. But others, including Robert H. Michel of Illinois, the House Republican leader, said they would support the override effort scheduled this week in both chambers. Besides raising the national speed limit, the bill contains money for special projects in many districts, including Mr. Michel's.

As for Iran, Mr. Reagan's comments in a Missouri classroom discussion went further than he has before on the deterioration of his policy. Replying to a sixth-grader who did not mention the controversy — Mr. Reagan said later he thought she had — he said that "I still think the idea was right" but that selling arms to Iran became "a little like paying ransom to a kidnapper."

"If you do it," he added, "then the kidnapper's just encouraged to go kidnapping someone else."

## Sale of Conrail Sets a Record

More than a decade ago, fearing a collapse of freight service in the Northeast, Congress voted to take several bankrupt railroads out of private hands. They became the Consolidated Rail Corporation and, given \$7 billion of Federal money,

became profitable. Last week the Government sold the corporation back to private investors, in a \$1.65 billion stock offering, the largest in Wall Street history.

Delighted, Reagan Administration officials said this was only the beginning. "We have succeeded in the largest privatization in U.S. history," said the Secretary of Transportation, Elizabeth Hanford Dole, "and this success should break ground for more privatizations to come." The White House wants to sell petroleum reserves, some Federal power-generating capacity and part of Amtrak, the passenger railroad.

## A Grace Period For Illegal Aliens

"Now they ask me for papers," said José Antonio Menéndez, an illegal alien from El Salvador who has lived and worked in Houston since 1981. Mr. Menéndez can no longer find a job, even though, like millions of other aliens, he can apply for legal status under the immigration law adopted in November. He can legally be employed while the Immigration and Naturalization Service decides whether he qualifies, and in any case, a provision authorizing fines of employers who hire illegal aliens does not go into effect until June 1. Nevertheless, suits filed by immi-

grant rights groups in Houston, Phoenix and Sacramento say many employers are already dismissing illegal aliens or, more often, refusing to hire them, choosing to run no risk of fines that range up to \$10,000.

Last week the Immigration Service agreed to grant "blanket authority" for illegal aliens to work until Sept. 1, if they tell their employer that they expect to qualify for legal status. The service said it did so only to avoid the "administrative nightmare" of trying to issue up to five million temporary work permits while also determining which aliens were qualified for amnesty.

A spokesman for the group that filed the Sacramento suit called the agreement, which settled the suit, a victory. "We think this should reverse the trend of employers firing many of their workers to avoid sanctions," said Peter Schey, director of an immigrants group in Los Angeles.

## Billion-Dollar Tax Fraud Is Charged

The money was big, and so were the names. Three financiers, one of whom was once known as the boy wonder of tax shelters, were indicted on charges of creating fictitious losses of over \$1 billion so that more than 100 wealthy investors could improperly deduct \$350 million on their

tax returns.

The three indicted by a Federal grand jury in Manhattan were Charles A. Atkins, the managing partner of the Securities Group, who set up his first tax-shelter partnership at the age of 24; William S. Hack, president of the Kale Holding Corporation, and Ernest M. Grunbaum, who headed a division of the Securities Group.

Among the prominent people who invested in the limited partnerships offered by Mr. Atkins, according to the indictment, were Laurence A. Tisch, chief executive of CBS Inc., and his brother, Preston R. Tisch, the United States Postmaster General; Norman Lear, the television producer; Michel David-Weill, senior partner at Lazard Freres & Co., who reported losses of \$4.4 million; William R. Salomon, former managing partner at Salomon Brothers Inc.; Michael Landon, Lorne Greene and Sidney Poitier, the actors, and Andy Warhol, the late artist.

The investors will not face criminal charges but will be required to pay taxes, interest and possible civil penalties that will add up to "a minimum" of \$200 million, said United States Attorney Rudolph W. Giuliani. Mr. Atkins "believes that the tax deductions were properly allowable," said his lawyer, James A. Moss.

Caroline Rand Herron and Martha A. Miles

## Who's Now Running for President, and How Hard?

**A**LEXANDER M. HAIG Jr., who thought, then thought better, of making a run for the Presidency in 1980, last week announced he is the man for 1988. The retired four-star Army general, the second Republican to formally declare his candidacy for the party's Presidential nomination, has never run for office but is no stranger to politics. Serving in key diplomatic and military posts for the last four Presidents, Mr. Haig, as White House chief of staff to Richard Nixon, became a kind of regent in the final days, and played a central role in Mr. Nixon's resignation. As Secretary of State to President Reagan, he battled often with Mr. Reagan's White House aides over control of policy, resigning in 1982 with a declaration that the Administration had moved away from the "careful course" he and the President had laid out. Mr. Haig has one thing many other candidates of both parties do not — high name recognition in the public opinion polls. But that is not necessarily an advantage; he also has what are known in the trade as high "negatives." He is, he acknowledges, a very dark horse.

### Announced

#### DEMOCRATS

##### Bruce Babbitt

Former two-term Arizona Governor . . . popular Democrat in a Republican state . . . 48 years old . . . an intellectual who is trying to gain attention by challenging party orthodoxies, calling, for example, for means testing for Federal benefit programs.

##### Richard A. Gephardt Jr.

Six-term Representative from middle-class area of St. Louis and its suburbs . . . 46 years old . . . chairman of the House Democratic Caucus . . . hopes to use his strong — some say protectionist — posture on trade to win blue-collar support.

#### REPUBLICANS

##### Pierre S. du Pont 4th

An heir to chemicals fortune and two-term Governor of Delaware . . . ineligible to run for third term . . . low-tax conservative who calls for broad new Federal programs in agriculture, education, job training . . . 52, known as Pete.

##### Alexander M. Haig Jr.

Chief of staff in the Nixon White House, Reagan's first Secretary of State, a four-star Army General when he retired as NATO chief in 1979 . . . 62 . . . a novice at electoral politics . . . says he has leadership to offer . . . most critical of the Administration among G.O.P. candidates.

### Announcement Scheduled

#### DEMOCRATS

##### Gary Hart

Key strategist for Democratic Presidential nominee George McGovern in 1972 . . . elected as Colorado Senator in '74 and gave Walter Mondale a close chase as 'new ideas' Presidential candidate in '84 . . . retired from Senate in '86 . . . leading in the polls . . . 50 . . . will formally announce candidacy April 13.

##### Michael S. Dukakis

In his third term as Massachusetts Governor . . . running from state that is doing well economically . . . not well known outside the Northeast, but New Hampshire has the first primary . . . hopes to inherit Governor Cuomo's following . . . 53 . . . will announce May 4.

#### REPUBLICANS

##### Jack F. Kemp

Former quarterback for Buffalo Bills, elected Representative from the city's suburbs in 1970 . . . an architect of Reagan's supply-side tax cut, he is stressing an anti-Communist foreign policy to consolidate support among the G.O.P. right . . . 51 . . . will announce April 7.

### Also Running

#### DEMOCRATS

##### Joseph R. Biden Jr.

Senator from Delaware since 1973 . . . chairman of Senate Judiciary Committee . . . 44 . . . considered one of the party's best orators, with a rhetoric often more inspirational and thematic than issue-oriented . . . has been concentrating recently on raising money.

##### The Rev. Jesse Jackson

His "Rainbow Coalition" took 18.6 percent of the primary vote in 1984, most of it among blacks . . . 45 . . . is trying to broaden his base with an economic message aimed at blue-collar workers and farmers.

#### REPUBLICANS

##### George Bush

Former Representative from Texas, U.N. ambassador, national party chairman, head of U.S. liaison office in China and C.I.A. chief . . . ran against Reagan in '80 and became his Vice President . . . 62 . . . frontrunner whose standing in the polls slipped as Iran-contra scandals widened.

##### Bob Dole

Senator from Kansas since 1969, Republican Senate leader since '85 . . . also a former national party chairman, and more regular than a Reaganite . . . 63 . . . Vice Presidential candidate with Ford in '76, has softened biting style since . . . gaining on Bush in the polls.

##### Pat Robertson

Christian broadcaster who runs a national network with 179 affiliate stations . . . surprised everyone by doing as well as Mr. Bush in Michigan caucuses last year . . . 57 . . . a Yale law graduate and son of a United States Senator.

### Undecided

#### DEMOCRATS

##### Bill Clinton

Serving third term as Arkansas Governor . . . chairman of National Governors' Association . . . 40 . . . more pragmatic than ideological . . . former Rhodes scholar.

##### Albert Gore Jr.

Freshman Senator and former four-term Representative from a Tennessee district that has produced national leaders before, including his father, also a Senator . . . will be 39 on Tuesday.

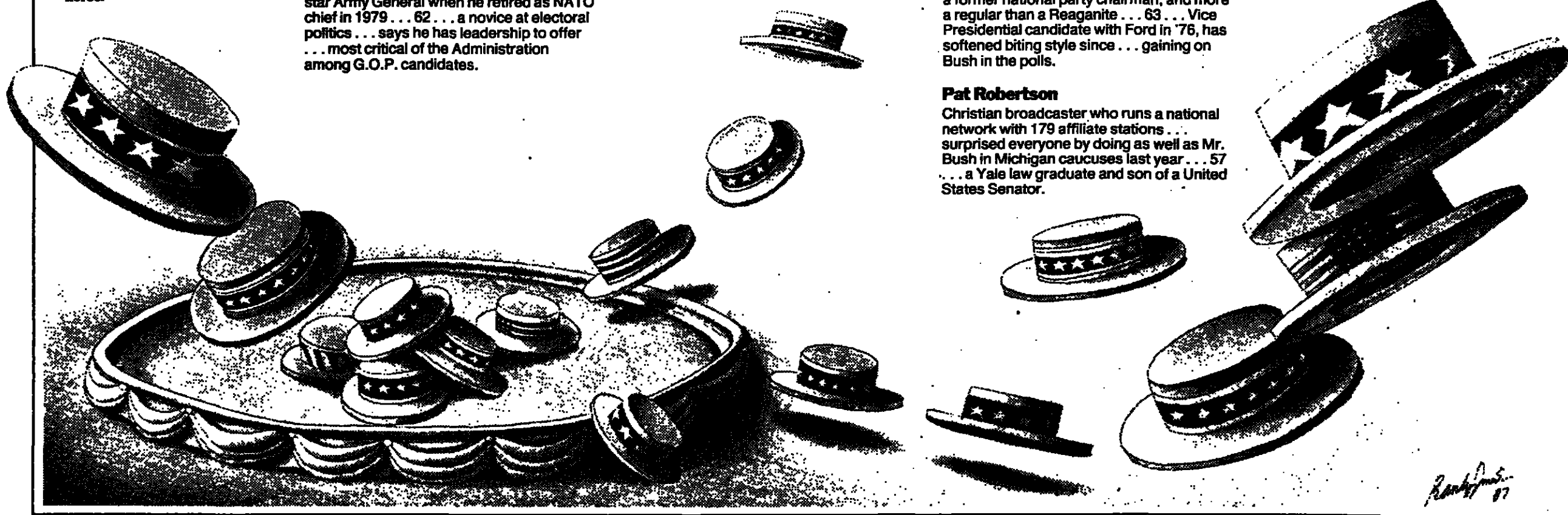
##### Sam Nunn

Senator from Georgia since 1972 . . . chairman of Armed Services Committee . . . one of Senate Democrats' most conservative voting records . . . 48 . . . methodical, and under great Southern and Western pressure to run.

#### REPUBLICANS

##### Paul Laxalt

Elected Senator from Nevada in 1974, retired in '86 . . . former G.O.P. general chairman . . . 64 . . . Reagan confidant, and similar to him in style and personality . . . has filed libel suit for allegations of profit-skimming by a casino he partly owned.



## At Least 21 States Hope to Win Energy Agency's Supercollider

## Physics, Shmysics — This Project Is a \$6 Billion Plum

By ROBERT REINHOLD

**W**HEN the Reagan Administration said it would build a new atom smasher known as the superconducting supercollider, scientists had visions of dancing leptons, quarks and bosons. But to states and localities, it conjured up dollar signs. "Jobs are the name of the game — that's the only reason we're getting into this thing," said Richard LeBlanc, the judge, or administrator, of Jefferson County east of Houston, one of the potential sites.

The great national race for this \$6 billion plum opens Wednesday, when the Federal Department of Energy issues its invitation for bids; the final decision is due in July 1988. The political jockeying has already begun. Texas alone has nine competing sites, and at least 20 other states are interested.

The collider will be the largest basic-research machine ever built, 20 times more powerful than the biggest accelerator today. Shaped like a huge race track, it will hurl protons traveling at nearly the speed of light against each other along its 52-mile underground circumference. Proponents say it is essential to keep the United States at

the frontier of high-energy particle physics.

There is debate about its scientific benefits, but not about its economic ones. Construction of the 10-foot-wide tunnel and laboratory buildings will require a peak work force of 4,500. After it starts operating, in 1996, the accelerator will have an annual budget of \$270 million (in 1988 dollars), a staff of 2,500 and about 500 visiting scientists, buying an awful lot of pizzas, lawn mowers and homes.

None of this will come cheap to the winner. The Energy Department wants up to 12,000 acres of free land and other sweeteners. As a result, statewide, interstate and even international collaborations are being formed, both to share the cost and to broaden the political attractions of the sites. While the Energy Department disclaims having any favorites, California, Illinois, Texas, Washington and Colorado appear to be well ahead.

California is betting all its mezzos on a semi-rural, economically depressed area near Stockton, in the San Joaquin Valley. A lobbying team is headed by Clair Burgener, a former Congressman and state Republican chairman, and the state plans to spend \$2.5 million to promote the site. It considers Illinois, home of the Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory, the world's largest atom smasher, its chief competition; Fermi might offer its \$500 million proton injector as a sweetener.

But probably no state is hungrier than Texas. Its oil economy on the ropes, Texas has been desperately trying to establish itself as a high-technology research center. The legislature has created the Texas National Laboratory Commission, with the power of eminent domain, to coordinate the effort to win the project; it is considering a bill to raise \$500 million in bonds. Localities ranging from the Panhandle, to Dallas-Fort Worth, to Bryant College Station, to Houston-Beaumont are fighting for the nod. Gov. Bill Clements said last week that at least two sites would be recommended to Washington.

### New York Plays Catch-Up

On the principle of better late than never, New York State's Urban Development Corporation, led by Lt. Gov. Stanley Lundine, is studying three possible sites: Malone, near the Canadian border; Palmyra, near Rochester, and Stewart International Airport, near Newburgh. According to Mr. Lundine, the strategy is to portray the project as a regional effort, enlisting political support from New Jersey, New England and even the Quebec and Canadian governments. "We are confident we've got the support of the scientific community in the Northeast," he said, arguing that New York's proximity to the Eastern universities gave it an advantage over Western states.

Collaboration is also the byword out West. Representatives of 11 Western states, meeting in Boulder, Colo., pledged Monday to work not only for their own states but also for whichever Western state eventually emerges as the leader. Colorado is the acknowledged leader now, having been working for a site in eastern Colorado since 1984. But Idaho, which has been studying a site near Idaho Falls, and South Dakota, backed by North Dakota, Montana and Nevada, are in the running.

The Washington state government has spent \$80,000 to study and promote a site in the rolling wheat-farm country west of Spokane, which just happens to lie in the district of the House majority leader, Thomas P. Foley. But state leaders fear that their bid might be undercut by their fierce opposition to the Federal Government's move to put a nuclear waste dump at Hanford, Wash.

Rumors have it that the Secretary of Energy, John S. Herrington, might offer the collider to the state that accepts the hugely unpopular underground "repository" for the wastes, which will be highly radioactive for centuries. The dump choice has come down to Texas, Nevada or Washington. Mr. Herrington has called the two projects "totally unrelated" and dismissed the rumors. But it all goes to prove the aphorism that big science means big politics.



# Chamberlain Wrestles With the Spirit of Noël Coward

By MAUREEN DOWD

IF NOEL COWARD'S BLITHE spirit were here, he would no doubt consider Richard Chamberlain's remarks perilously near impertinence. For Mr. Chamberlain has just proposed that actors who want to do Coward comedies well must work to find "a balance between the reality of his era and present-day reality — the kind of life we all come from."

"I don't know anybody who has a cigarette holder in one hand and a martini in the other and says fabulously witty things all the time," says the handsome 52-year-old actor. Mr. Chamberlain is starring as Charles Condomine in the revival of "Blithe Spirit" opening on Tuesday at the Neil Simon Theater. A cross between "Private Lives" and "Topper," the Coward comedy is based on the conceit that a novelist living with his second wife inadvertently conjures up the ghost of his first wife while doing research on a book about a spiritualist.

In searching for the right approach to his role as the suave protagonist, Mr. Chamberlain wryly observes: "You can't say lines like 'Would you like me to write at your feet in a frenzy of self-abasement?' and be a yuppie." He is not suggesting anything heretical. He doesn't want the tuxedos replaced by jogging suits or the martinis swapped for Perrier or the cigarettes traded for carrot sticks.

But the gentle, charming Los Angeles native is a man firmly grounded in modern thinking, who has talked about the benefits of psychotherapy, holistic healing and healthy living. He has had a hard time adjusting to the dizzying altitude of pure fun that Mr. Coward created and spent his life defending. He has been searching for his character's vulnerability. "You can't make it into Greek tragedy, playing it with deep, soul-searching sadness," he said during an interview in Baltimore when the play was being prepared for its return to Broadway.

"The one thing we don't want to do is prance around the stage like a bunch of nervous little whippers," he said, "trying to be terribly, terribly sophisticated and 'Oh, darling, this



Richard Chamberlain—"I've seen great, great actors fall flat on their faces in Noël Coward."

and darling that' and all that stuff, because none of us can do it."

This revival of "Blithe Spirit" has been troubled. It is the first major

New York production of the play — considered one of Mr. Coward's most luminous concoctions — since the original in 1941, because the play-

wright's estate had held out for a cast it considered suitably stellar. This ensemble — with Blythe Danner and Judith Ivey playing Condomine's first

and second wives, respectively, and Geraldine Page as the dotty spiritualist — certainly qualifies.

But the British director, Brian Bedford, quit shortly before the New York opening in frustration, saying he had done all he could for the production. During the play's run in Baltimore, Mr. Bedford had been faulted in the Baltimore and Washington newspapers for failing to conjure up the proper insouciance. His friend and compatriot, Brian Murray, took over for him, and put off the New York opening by almost two weeks.

Mr. Chamberlain conceded that he has been struggling to find the proper accent and class mannerisms for this silken society of fashionable discontent turned topsy-turvy. He said that Mr. Murray has led the cast to rely much more heavily on the language of the play itself — with razor-sharp timing and Pinteresque pauses replacing many ancillary gestures and stage business. "We have been working to make it both less glib and funnier," Mr. Chamberlain said.

The director said the classic love triangle in the play revolves around Mr. Chamberlain's character: "He's a man who's a magnet to women — even the maid has a bit of a crush on him."

Mr. Chamberlain is accustomed to playing magnetic men. After first attaining celebrity in the television series "Dr. Kildare" — he was the only intern not to make resident in five years — he has carved out an even brighter stardom for himself as "king of the mini-series" and in television and movie costume dramas.

He has starred in "Centennial," "Shogun," "The Thorn Birds," "Wallenberg," "Dream West" and the recent "Casanova," and has played as Byron, F. Scott Fitzgerald and Edward VIII.

Along the way, he has become known as the actor who often surprises skeptical critics by turning in first-rate performances. On the stage, he has triumphed as "Richard III" and as the first American actor to play "Hamlet" in England since John Barrymore.

The actor recalled meeting Coward in London during the 1960's. "I was afraid he might have caught an epidemic of playing Condomine's first

me," he said, "but he was very sweet."

He worries sometimes whether the only two people who could play Coward properly were Coward himself and Gertrude Lawrence.

"Maybe Diana Rigg and Alec McCowen could do it," he added. "But you really can't play it like Noël and Gertrude any more. You have to find a new way. The world doesn't make people like that any more. We don't know enough about that society, the era before World War II with Lady Diana Cooper and that sort of aristocracy. We haven't the feel of it. I've seen great, great actors fall flat on their faces in Noël Coward."

Mr. Chamberlain said that while American actors are at some disadvantage trying to pull off the very brittle style, he thinks there are few, if any, British actors who can do it either without looking like "museum pieces cavoring around the stage."

Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Murray think modern actors and audiences need to pay more attention to the subtlety, to Coward's ambivalence about relationships and the pain Charles Condomine feels when the shade of his "morally untidy" first wife, Elvira, confesses her infidelities.

"Coward writes about relationships in his plays endlessly, but I don't think he believes in them. He wanted to believe in them but he doesn't believe in them. They never work."

Although he has proved himself in dramatic roles and movie comedies such as "The Three Musketeers," Mr. Chamberlain admits he is having a hard time in comedy wrapping his tongue around such twisters as the Coward barb at psychiatry: "I refuse to endure weeks of expensive humiliation only to be told that at the age of four I fell in love with my rocking horse."

He said he had watched enviously one night as the comedian Buddy Hackett brazenly flung out one-liners on the Johnny Carson show. "I try to feel comfortable with the power and the energy of humor," he said.

"It's very aggressive. In order to be funny, you have to aggress into private areas about people's feelings and fears."

## Illegal Theater in Poland's Living Rooms

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

THE STAGE WAS THE living room of an apartment, the actors were some of the leading professionals from Warsaw's best theaters, and the play was a work by Pavel Kohout, the émigré Czechoslovak playwright now living in Vienna.

The drama, "Degradation," concerns the interrogation of a Czechoslovak writer by the secret police, and the somewhat clandestine setting for the performance enhanced its impact. There was really no great danger that the Polish police would walk in, but the audience and the actors knew that it could happen, and that awareness linked everyone in the room with the author and subject of the play in a righteous conspiracy.

After the performance, the actors drink tea with the guests, who have left money in a hat. They perform this play and another Czechoslovak translation, "Largo Desolato," by Vaclav Havel, in private homes two or three times a week after their regular appearances in official theaters. They are not eager to have their names published, but they are not particularly secretive either, and they know that their identities and activities are known to the police.

Some months ago, one of them said, they were in Wrocław to take part in an official drama festival. On the night before they were to present their censor-approved play, they appeared in a private house in one of the unauthorized and antitotalitarian Czechoslovak plays.

As they prepared to begin the performance, several policemen entered and demanded documents from the 44 people in the audience. Many of the guests thought the police were actors and that the demand for identification was a novel opening of the play. Some even complimented the men in uniform for how well they portrayed policemen. The fine line between illusion and reality soon grew clearer as paddy wagons drew up to take audience and actors to a police station for questioning. Everyone was released after a few hours so that the actors could stage their official entry in the festival. The host of the evening was fined for permitting an unauthorized performance.

The living-room theaters are an apt metaphor for much of Poland's cultural life. For one thing, they demonstrate the ever-present links between culture and politics, and, for another, they reveal the shifting flows between

official and unofficial culture with actors from Government theaters moonlighting on the apartment circuit. "What we can't do in the open, we do underground," said one of the actors.

Actually, there are four separate divisions of Polish cultural life: the official, the underground, that sponsored by the Catholic Church and that produced by émigrés in the West. Each of these spheres has a long tradition, going back to the days of Poland's partition in the 19th century, but their distinctiveness was heightened during the Solidarity period and the martial law that followed the suppression of the free trade union movement.

Aleksander Krawczuk, the new Minister of Culture, is working hard to woo some of the country's cultural luminaries into cooperation if not full collaboration with the Government. At the same time, Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of cultural openness in Moscow have strengthened the hand of those officials here who favored the further expansion of cultural freedom, even though in this regard Poland was, with its well-developed underground civilization, somewhat ahead of the Soviet Union.

Boris Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" is appearing serialized in several newspapers. A book of poems by Osip Mandelstam, in Polish translation and the original Russian, has finally been released after being shelved since its original publication five years ago. An hour-long documentary movie about Tadeusz Konwicki, Poland's foremost novelist, whose recent works have appeared in the underground press, has also finally been cleared for distribution after two years.

Certain major figures of Polish culture, once deemed suspect by the Government for their Solidarity sympathies, are working in full view. For example, Andrzej Wajda, the director whose films, "Man of Iron" and "Man of Marble," memorialized the Solidarity struggle, is directing a film of Dostoyevsky's "Possessed" in Warsaw, using a French and Polish cast.

Even more impressive for many Poles was the opening here of a film Mr. Wajda made of a Konwicki story called "An Accident of Love." The movie, about two young people falling in love in Wilna in 1939, just before the war, marked Mr. Konwicki's acting debut. The director and the author have enormous stature inside and outside the country, and though their close associations with opposition figures have bothered Government cul-

tural bureaucrats in the past, they are now being offered great artistic latitude.

However, this new permissiveness that apparently embraces the most prominent cultural figures is hardly a matter of general policy. The theatrical director, Jerzy Markuszewski, is an example. Once associated with the most prestigious theater, his career suffered after he opposed the anti-Semitic campaign of 1968. He has spoken out since in defense of opposition figures, whom he counts as his best friends. He believes that in consequence of his beliefs and associations he has received fewer jobs with worse and worse theaters. His version of Isaac Bashevis Singer's "Magician of Lublin" opened here recently, performed by what he diplomatically described as not the best company in Warsaw. Meanwhile, he had been invited to stage the plays of Isaac Babel in Israel. He was denied his passport by the police.

And so, while the keepers of official culture beckon coquettishly to some, they seem to glower vindictively at others. Consider the case of Ryszard Krynicki, a poet from Poznań whose work has been praised by Czesław Miłosz. His work is not officially published, and he lost his university job. But he does not complain about such things.

Instead, what bothered him was the confiscation by Customs officials of a copy of a book that someone sent him from abroad, Hannah Arendt's "Origins of Totalitarianism." He appealed the seizure to the highest administrative court.

Last month the appeal was heard. The case hinged on the critical evaluation of Miss Arendt's book by Aleksander Poplawski, the Customs inspector. He declared: "Arendt clumsily attempts to deny the existence of Zionism, repeatedly claiming that the protocols of the elders of Zion were fabricated by anti-Semites. The contents of her book are perfidious slanders directed at the Soviet Union, Communists and working-class movements. The goal of this publication is to incite hatred toward the Socialist system and Communists. Her Zionist mentality is astonishing, and in order to malign the Soviet Union, she did not hesitate to use the millions of Jewish victims murdered by Hitler."

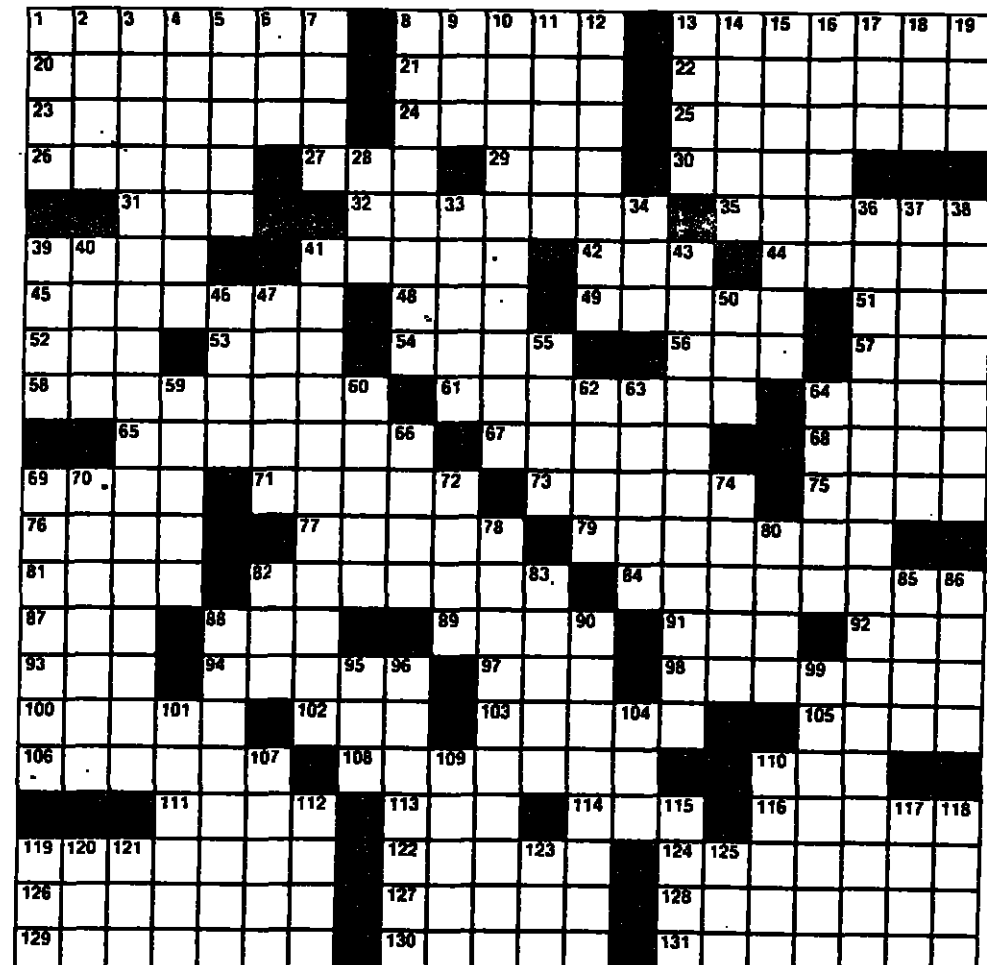
The court upheld the confiscation, finding that its contents violated a law that forbids importation of such information that is deemed harmful to the benefit and the interest of the Polish People's Republic. □

## Sign Language

By RALPH G. BEAMAN / Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

### ACROSS

- 1 Bussed audibly
- 8 Family member
- 13 Attacks
- 20 "— child are doing well"
- 21 Bucolic
- 22 Kerchiefs
- 23 Disrupt; perturb
- 24 Sluggish
- 25 Spark-plug spacings
- 26 Ermine, at times
- 27 Co.'s arm for investigation-growth
- 29 Cry at Bonn
- 30 Cherbourg
- 31 Ozark individuals
- 32 V.I.P.
- 35 Milk: Comb. form
- 39 Toward sunrise
- 41 Line on a letter
- 42 Headland
- 44 Kind of plexus
- 45 In broad and noble style
- 48 Mouths
- 49 Lecture material
- 51 Air-quality org.
- 52 "— do thou likewise"
- 53 Word with ears, heart or thumbs
- 54 Speech part
- 56 — forth
- 57 Crossed out
- 58 Sledder's gear
- 61 Reduces speed
- 64 Wicked wax
- 65 Witness
- 67 Jam
- 68 Sun: Comb. form
- 69 Frankfurt an der —
- 71 Solution strength
- 73 Sends back to a lower court
- 75 Algerian port
- 76 Enclosures
- 77 Domingo is one
- 79 N.F.L. team
- 81 Give off
- 82 Bridge gaffe
- 84 Offspring
- 87 Opposite of pos.
- 88 Off — (occasionally)
- 89 Obstacle
- 91 Bad —
- 92 German spa
- 93 A hardwired
- 94 Mr. — (Prince Charming)
- 97 W. African language branch



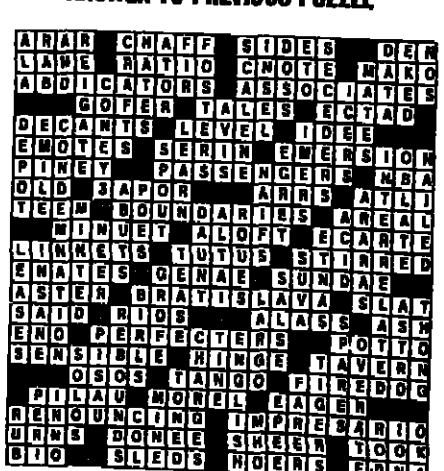
- 98 Tiered centerpiece
- 100 Job for an emcee
- 102 "A Boy Named —"
- 103 Preppy town in Mass.
- 105 Kin of etc.
- 106 Excise
- 108 Four-flusher
- 110 — fl
- 111 Barbershop song
- 113 Midianite king
- 114 Stoolie
- 116 Like certain bombs
- 119 Hash house
- 122 Ragout of game
- 124 In a wrathful way
- 126 Deadlock
- 127 Briefs
- 128 Fit for drinking
- 129 Foreigner
- 130 Dish up
- 131 Althing member

- 3 Collection of tales told by Scheherazade
- 4 Vint at Harry's Bar
- 5 Clark and Rockwell
- 6 Work unit
- 7 What some get up when mad
- 8 Refrigerator's milieu
- 9 Emulate Cram or Overt
- 10 Calif.'s San —
- 11 Twain portrayal: 1944
- 12 Brasses member
- 13 Rhyme scheme
- 14 Prepaint work
- 15 Sea east of Bermuda
- 16 Deputy in "Measure for Measure"
- 17 Frost's "— Vale"
- 18 Pass at Indy
- 19 Draft initials
- 28 "Eat, drink — merry"
- 33 Copters' kin
- 34 Yellow River feeder
- 36 Golden oldie: 1911

- 37 Giant star in Auriga
- 38 Part payment, at times
- 39 — Benedict
- 40 "East of Eden" character
- 41 Entreaties
- 43 Shirley Temple film: 1934
- 46 Malt kiln
- 47 S. African gulch
- 50 Clairvoyance, for short
- 55 Black, in Brest
- 59 Best
- 60 Heads of France
- 62 Emulate Niobe
- 63 Poisonous plant
- 64 Keyboard combination
- 66 Tear
- 69 Alfresco
- 70 Estate
- 72 Anonymous Richards
- 74 Economize
- 78 Private or corporal
- 80 Otherwise
- 82 Me, to Miss Piggy
- 83 — Moses (Pentateuch)

- 85 Author Ferber
- 86 December word
- 88 "— the Lion"
- 90 — to (brought about)
- 95 Focal point
- 96 Planned progress
- 99 Dance concert
- 101 Kingly
- 104 Historic time
- 107 Pithy
- 109 Conserve of grapes
- 110 Express
- 112 Looker
- 115 "— Tin,"
- 117 Paris magazine
- 118 Alizarin user
- 119 Résumé
- 120 Rhea's cousin
- 121 Inclined
- 123 CDI quintupled
- 125 Bird in 3 Down

### ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE





# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935  
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961  
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher  
MAX FRANKEL, Executive Editor  
ARTHUR GELB, Managing Editor  
JAMES L. GREGG, Assistant Managing Editor  
WARREN HOGG, Assistant Managing Editor  
JOHN M. LEE, Assistant Managing Editor  
ALLAN M. SIEGAL, Assistant Managing Editor  
JACK ROSENTHAL, Editorial Page Editor  
LESLIE H. GELB, Deputy Editorial Page Editor  
A. M. ROSENTHAL, Associate Editor  
ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER JR., Assistant Publisher  
LANCE R. PRIMIS, Exec. V.P., General Manager  
RUSSELL T. LEWIS, Sr. V.P., Circulation  
J. A. RIGGS JR., Sr. V.P., Operations  
HOWARD BISHOP, V.P., Employee Relations  
ERIC G. LINKER JR., V.P., Advertising  
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller  
ELINE J. ROSS, V.P., Systems

## AIDS, Sex and Needles

Some 33,000 AIDS cases have been diagnosed so far, and an estimated 1.5 million Americans are already infected with the virus, half a million of them in New York City. In the shadow of the grim disease stalks another — an epidemic of fear. The task is to contain both.

Homosexuals and intravenous drug addicts are still the principal victims but it is clear that AIDS can be spread heterosexually. That puts all sexually active Americans at potential risk and is reason for everyone with new partners to practice safe sex.

That said, it should also be understood that the risk of contracting the AIDS virus varies widely by region, class and race. Though the advice for all individuals is the same — take precautions — the differences in risk create an opportunity for Government to focus its attention where it is most needed: on drug addicts.

One mystery about AIDS concerns the lack of evidence so far of heterosexual transmission beyond the known risk groups and their partners. The people most at risk from heterosexual spread of AIDS are probably those with other sexually transmitted diseases. There are some signs that the virus is not yet spreading fast by this route. Of 1,000 such heterosexuals tested in Denver over the last three years, none but addicts carried the AIDS virus. Among 3,300 people tested at a venereal disease clinic in New York, 26 carry the virus but all are members of risk groups, or their sexual partners are.

Far from being grounds for complacency, this offers a vital chance to keep the epidemic contained. The most serious spread of the AIDS virus is

now among addicts. Some 50 to 60 percent of New York's 200,000 heroin users are believed to carry the AIDS virus. Addicts pass the virus to their partners, and women infect their babies. Since drug addicts are a principal bridge to the main population, they should be central to the Administration's attempts to control AIDS.

Yet as the AIDS toll mounts, the Reagan Administration still does little to help control this major epicenter. There are still long waits for addicts who want methadone maintenance. Drug-free rehabilitation programs are overflowing. Addicts who want to quit have no place to go.

Focusing on the drug side of AIDS is not only a Federal duty. Addicts commonly share dirty needles in seedy "shooting galleries" and dispensing sterile needles might retard the spread of AIDS. But rigorous local law enforcement officials resist even experiments to test that possibility.

Because so many addicts are black or Hispanic, the burden of AIDS will fall increasingly harshly on these minority communities. Just as homosexual groups have educated their members, black and Hispanic leaders can also perform a life-saving role with warnings against AIDS and drug abuse.

Fear of AIDS may help induce people to protect themselves, and the earlier the epidemic is contained the more lives will be saved. But exaggerated fears risk fostering discrimination or demand for coercive measures that would drive the disease underground. The Administration has made a belated start in educating Americans how to avoid the disease. Now let it, and the rest of us, focus on the likeliest source of infection.

If AIDS is to be stemmed, drug abuse is the place to make a stand.

## Now Playing on 42d Street: Mr. Nobody

To the world, 42d Street has long symbolized action, throngs, entertainment, urbanity. A nexus of subways and buses, international neon marketplace, heart of the theater district and home of the New Year — Times Square and 42d Street are a part of the New York legend that all visitors want to see for themselves.

That's why the ambitious 42d Street redevelopment initiative has been so welcome. It offers an exciting way to preserve life while undoing the danger, dirt and desperation. And that's also why the developing paralysis of the project is becoming so distressing.

Recognizing the challenge of a dreary 42d Street, Governor Cuomo and Mayor Koch jointly promised a mighty effort to extract the market value of the street's location and make it pay for the regeneration of its land uses. Their concept was simple: Transfer unused development rights from the block's seedy center to its corner sites, where developers of high-rise buildings can earn enough to pay to rebuild theaters and subway facilities.

In practice, that plan requires a skillful organiz-

er, someone who can work with developers yet resist demands that outrage good sense. Such an organizer must have the solidity to impress financiers yet have an eye and ear for imagination and daring. Who leads this charge? Nobody. The position has been vacant for months.

Opponents argue that, in time, the crucial 42d Street block would regenerate itself, like the northern part of Times Square. There's no sign they are right, for a good reason. No entrepreneur — surely no financial institution — would invest in any single site on a block likely to remain the turf of enterprises that scare away potential customers.

To change 42d Street means changing it as a whole, and that requires an organizer. Apart from personal skills, such a person must have the vigorous support of Governor and Mayor.

That's no longer visible. Their failure even to agree on someone of suitable stature to fill this post reflects a dismayingly flabby dedication to a project they used to brag about. If they have developed cold feet, then let them say so, and back out openly. If not, it is time to move in Times Square.

## Catching Shrimp, Saving Turtles

Busloads of angry Louisiana shrimpers came to Washington last week to continue their battle with environmentalists over turtles. Every year more than 10,000 sea turtles become entangled and die in the nets of American shrimp fishermen. Without some protection, environmentalists fear four of the five species native to U.S. waters could dwindle to extinction.

The conflict between industry and environment is classic, but this time there's a practical remedy: turtle excluder devices on the top of shrimp nets that serve as escape hatches. The National Marine Fisheries Service is weighing regulations to require most shrimp boats to use them. These new rules would be welcome; they would save turtles without harming the shrimp industry.

Because of their scarcity, all five species of turtles in U.S. waters are protected by the Endangered Species Act. The Fisheries Service helped develop several of the excluder devices, and hoped shrimp fishermen would use them voluntarily. But that has not happened. So the head of the National Oceanic

and Atmospheric Administration, Dr. Anthony Calio, asked Government, conservation groups and the fishing industry to negotiate. Their agreement, signed in December, requires most shrimp boats to use excluder devices, depending on where, when and at what depth they trawl.

Yet some shrimp fishermen remain fiercely opposed. The most vocal are Louisiana shrimpers, whose representative failed to sign the agreement. They say Louisiana's inshore waters are too cluttered with flotsam for the devices to function properly. Extensive tests show that if properly used, excluders let turtles escape and don't reduce shrimp hauls. They also rid nets of non-target game fish, which otherwise are dumped over the side.

Dr. Calio of the Oceanic Administration has demonstrated admirable skill in balancing legitimate fishing industry concerns with the duty to protect sea turtles. Let him now take the final step and turn the informal agreement into a fair set of regulations, and give one of our more fragile sea creatures a fighting chance to survive.

### Pandora's Box

To the multitude of modern problems afflicting today's Africa — debt, apartheid, guerrilla warfare — add the resurgence of a very old one: religious violence. In recent weeks, the continent's two most populous countries, Nigeria and Egypt, have experienced deadly Moslem-Christian clashes. Defusing these potentially explosive conflicts is now an urgent government priority in both Lagos and Cairo.

Nigeria's conflict erupted along the divide that separates a Moslem north from a Christian south. Hours after a Moslem woman publicly slapped a Christian pastor accused of misinterpreting the Koran, Christian mobs began a rampage that ended two days later with eight Koran teachers murdered. In reprisal Moslem mobs burned some 75 churches, incinerated Christian-owned businesses, and left another 15 people dead.

Egypt's latest clashes have been driven by rumors of supposed affronts to Islam by the Coptic Christian minority. In one case, an electrical fire in a mosque was popularly attributed instead to Christian arson. A Coptic church was then burned to square accounts. Another rumor has Christians in possession of a secret spray that somehow makes a sign of the cross appear on the scarves of Moslem women. These conflicts have already produced

### Topics of The Times

hundreds of arrests and at least one death. Such horror stories aren't unique to Africa. Similar tragedies have befallen places as disparate as Lebanon and Northern Ireland, to cite just two examples. If there is a lesson from both of these it is that sectarianism, if not quickly contained, can soon consume a nation.

### Bully's Retreat

Three cheers for Chad, whose army is chasing back long-entrenched Libyan invaders. Fed up with Colonel Qaddafi's endless manipulations and side-switching, his various Chadian victims finally stopped fighting each other long enough to battle the bully. The victory isn't yet complete; Libyan troops still occupy the disputed Aozou border strip; but the Chadians now have morale and momentum on their side.

Much of the credit for Chad's success belongs to President Hissen Habré, whose daring offensive tactics display lessons he learned years ago fighting as a Libyan-sponsored desert commando. Military assistance from France and the United States also helped. But it was only when Colonel Qaddafi alienated his latest Chadian protégé that a long military stalemate was finally broken. Not for the first time, a just cause has shown itself a formidable factor in the military equation.

### Letters

## Time to Be Serious About the War on Drugs

To the Editor:

The degrading drug-testing guidelines released by the Department of Health and Human Services (news story, Feb. 20) came as no surprise to Federal employees and others familiar with President Reagan's low regard for his workers. But Federal workers, indeed all Americans, should be shocked and angered by the President's virtual abandonment of all other aspects of his "war on drugs."

Five months ago, the President unveiled his plan for a "drug-free America," which carried a \$3 billion price tag and promised the Government would continue to fight "this cancer of drugs." But in his State of the Union Message, President Reagan said nothing about federally sponsored drug education, treatment or enforcement. Nothing.

Over the summer, William von Raab, Customs Service Commissioner, stated that the President wanted drug interdiction to be a top priority in his agency. "The word went out to Customs that 'You have a very big job here; do it. We'll back you up,'" Mr. von Raab said of the Administration.

Late last month, Mr. von Raab was defending a slashed Customs Service budget before Capitol Hill committees that wanted to know how our nation's primary drug-interdiction agency can fight drug abuse with far fewer people and resources.

In accordance with the Anti-Drug Abuse Act, Congress appropriated additional funds for Customs in 1987 in the continuing resolution. More than \$830 million was allotted for salaries and expenses, an increase of \$80 million over the fiscal year 1986 continuing resolution level.

Congress also explicitly directed that the U.S. Customs Service hire and maintain an average of 14,891 full-time equivalent positions in fiscal year 1987, an increase of 850 positions over the 1986 fiscal year continuing resolution level.

Though this legislation passed Congress with the blessings of the White House and Commissioner von Raab, the President's 1988 budget (submitted to Congress Jan. 5) and other Administration policies demonstrate his true lack of commitment to solving the nation's drug abuse problems. Reagan Administration actions have:

- Rescinded \$39 million of the Customs fiscal 1987 budget, hitting all aspects of the Customs drug program.
- Required Customs to absorb the full amount of the Federal pay raise and retirement costs in fiscal 1987, instead of pushing for additional appropriations. This action reduces Customs' antidrug operations by an additional \$21.6 million.

- Allowed the Office of Management and Budget to dole out funds at a snail's pace, effectively forcing Customs to a standstill.
- Enabled Commissioner von Raab

to effect a two-month hiring freeze, leaving positions vital to drug interdiction unfilled.

The result of these policies is a drug-war debacle, stripping Customs of \$99.6 million in fiscal 1987 alone. This prevents Customs from bringing its staff up past 13,352, positions, in disregard of the Congressional mandate. And it undermines Customs' ability to enforce our drug laws.

The Reagan Administration must abandon its drug war hypocrisy and truly work to solve this country's drug abuse problems. Election campaign rhetoric will not halt sophisticated, organized drug traffickers. The much-publicized arrest of the cocaine general Carlos Lehder Rivas in Colombia will not stop his army of smugglers from advancing. Drug addicts cannot simply "just say no" to their next fix.

Stopping illegal drug use demands Government money, Government personnel and a Government commitment that goes beyond public service announcements and mandatory drug testing.

To restore public confidence, the Customs Service must have the resources to empower its drug interdiction efforts. Our Congress has ordered it. Our citizens have voted for it. It's time for our President to respond.

ROBERT M. TOBIAS  
National President, National Treasury Employees Union  
Washington, March 3, 1987

### Coercion Won't Work

To the Editor:

A. M. Rosenthal ("The Phony War," column, March 15) is wholly correct when he observes that the United States Government has been reluctant to apply coercive trade and foreign-aid sanctions to nations that



tolerate drug production and trafficking, lest precious strategic and diplomatic leverage be lost for other purposes. But in condemning this cost-benefit analysis, he offers no reason.

### India Won't Help Stop Pakistan Bomb Plans

To the Editor:

Telling India to sign the 1968 nuclear nonproliferation treaty, obliging it to accept full-scope safeguards, as a way to stop Pakistan's nuclear bomb (editorial, March 13) won't work.

The treaty has long been anathema to India, hence Pakistan can make conditional promises knowing there is no future in them. As the Carter Administration discovered, the South Asian countries are also unalterably opposed to full-scope safeguards.

The most that can be done is to keep these programs from becoming open threats. The United States scarcely considered cutting off aid to Israel for rejecting full-scope safeguards and developing a nuclear-bomb program.

India and Pakistan have promised not to attack each other's nuclear operations. No similar pledges have appeared in the Middle East or in Soviet-American relations. Because of the Afghan crisis, Congress should renew Pakistan's aid program. As you suggest, the Zia regime should be told not to test a nuclear device nor in any other way blatantly challenge the nonproliferation system, lest aid be ended.

PAUL F. POWER  
Prof. of Political Science, U. of Cincinnati  
Cincinnati, March 18, 1987

### For Philanthropists of Modest Means: Potholes

To the Editor:

Two recent articles fused in my brain, producing an interesting new notion. The first dealt with New York City monuments up for adoption (front page, March 9). "Hm," I thought, "I can adopt the Heinrich Heine Fountain in the Bronx for only \$275,000. Too bad I don't have that kind of play money."

Then, there was your article on potholes in New York (March 11), with the staggering statistic that some 124,000 of them would be found this year. Suddenly I had it! Here at last was an outlet for the civic-minded poor: Adopt a Pothole!

For a very modest sum, those of us who have stood enviously by watching the likes of J. Donald Trump salvage the Wallman Memorial Rink to rousing hosannas could do our bit for our beloved New York and glean our own small share of philanthropic respectability.

According to your report, there are categories of potholes — "B-holes" (one to three feet across), "street

### Politics of Nuclear Burial Breeds Distrust

To the Editor:

"Blundering Over Nuclear Burial," your March 16 editorial on the handling of the long-term nuclear waste problem by Secretary of Energy John S. Herrington, was very perceptive. We in Oregon are adamantly opposed to the use of the Hanford plutonium production site as the nation's nuclear waste dump.

Although Hanford is in the state of Washington, Oregon is the state most at risk to suffer the consequences of this folly. The Hanford reservation borders on the Columbia River, which then flows past Portland, Oregon's largest city, with a metropolitan population of one million. Radiation

### Color Blinders

To the Editor:

Morton Landowne (letter, March 15) assumes that when 25 percent of whites voted for Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago, they were ignoring his race and voting for his policies. But then he slips by assuming that when 96 percent of blacks voted for Mayor Washington, they were paying no attention to his policies but voting for his race.

BILL ED SCRUGGS  
Shelton, Conn., March 15, 1987

to believe that sanctions would eradicate drugs or be worth the price even if they did.

At the heart of Mr. Rosenthal's sanctions proposal lies a central contradiction: he acknowledges that coercive police measures at home are unlikely to extirpate drugs from American society, yet is willing to assume that coercion can work in other cultures.

Bolivia, for example, generates far more hard currency through its cocaine crop than it receives in American aid grants. Geographical factors make an eradication effort in that backwater nation not only prohibitively costly but also virtually impossible. Because cocaine is a routine feature of Bolivian culture, the effort would have to be perpetual.

Even a dictatorial Bolivian leader could no more eradicate the cocaine crop than an Iowa Congressman could eradicate corn. The upshot of American sanctions: a threat to intrude upon the economy and culture of a sovereign nation, the sure result of which would be not only continued cocaine cultivation but also widespread Latin resentment of "yankee imperialism." Journalists won't have to deal with the consequences, but our diplomats and generals certainly will.

Our domestic drug-policy makers might well learn from the State Department's sound cost-benefit approach to coercion in dealing with drugs. Short of imposing a police state on the entire Western Hemisphere — as undesirable as it is futile — no amount of coercion will ever succeed in stemming the supply of drugs to the millions of United States citizens who daily line up to buy them.

STANLEY NEUSTADTER  
New York, March 17, 1987

### Use the Military

To the Editor:

I strongly agree with A. M. Rosenthal on our Government's attitude toward drugs. I, too, feel that additional measures are necessary. However, in addition to restricting aid, there are other measures to stop the inflow of illegal drugs into the country.

Using the military to help in the struggle is one of them. Taxpayers pour billions of dollars into defense so that America has hundreds if not thousands of sophisticated airplanes and warships that serve no practical purpose except during wartime.

Why not use these hi-tech marvels to help the Coast Guard, Customs officials and others to prevent the influx of illegal drugs?

This would certainly provide the muscle the antinarcotics agencies need, would help give our armed forces some real experience and put legitimate fear into smugglers' hearts.

JUDD BRANDEIS  
Providence, R.I., March 16, 1987

levels in the Columbia are already unacceptably high because of leaching from storage tanks at Hanford, which has been responsible for much of the country's production of nuclear material for weapons. Now the Federal Government would like to use Hanford for disposal of nuclear waste, even after its own studies show that the site ranks poorly in comparison with other sites in such key criteria as geological stability and proximity to ground water that flows into the Columbia River.

Secretary Herrington and the Reagan Administration have chosen the path of least political resistance. There are relatively few votes in the Northwest, and there is little local opposition in the area immediately surrounding the Hanford facility, which is the main local employer. Congress intended that the process of choosing a dump site be based on sound scientific evaluation, not on political expediency. The Energy Department's dismal record in carrying out its task makes it extremely unlikely that Americans, particularly residents of the Northwest, will be able to trust it in the future.

RON CEASE, TOM MASON  
Salem, Ore., March 17, 1987  
The writers represent, respectively, Districts 19 and 11 in the Oregon House of Representatives.

### In Praise of New York

To the Editor:

Having just completed my first visit to your city, I wanted to let its citizens know that I found most of those I met to be friendly, helpful and entertaining. I use a cane to walk and was universally offered a seat on the subway and helped through cumbersome entrances.

I admire your transportation system, your sights, your bustling activity and most of all your inimitable blend of people of every sort. From your newspaper I can see that New York City is dealing with a formidable array of crises, so it seemed a good time to have you hear about your assets.

KATHY WILMERING  
St. Louis, March 16, 1987



The New York Times Company

229 West 43d St., N.Y. 10036

### Operating Groups

Operating Groups

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Chairman  
WALTER MATTHEWSON, President  
DAVID L. GORHAM, Senior Vice President  
BENJAMIN HANDELSON, Senior Vice President  
MICHAEL E. RYAN, Senior Vice President  
GUY T. GARRETT, Vice President  
SOLOMON B. WATSON IV, Secretary  
DENISE K. FLETCHER, Treasurer

WILLIAM H. DAVIS, Senior Vice President  
JOHN D. POMFRET, Senior Vice President  
JOHN R. HARRISON, Senior Vice President  
WILLIAM T. KERR, Vice President  
DAVID K. MACDONALD, Vice President  
C. FRANK ROBERTS, Vice President

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.



WASHINGTON  
James RestonA View  
From  
Canada

**P**resident Reagan is coming to Canada in a few days to talk about free trade, among other things, and he'll get a mixed reception.

Canadian labor is against the free trade initiative. Some big-business nationalists are taking out full-page red-ink ads in the newspapers to inform the President that Canada is "not for sale," but he'll get a friendly welcome from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

Mr. Mulroney is no "patsy" for Mr. Reagan, as many of his opponents say. Vice President Bush and Secretary of the Treasury James Baker were up here in January and the Prime Minister made clear to them in private that he opposed the President's policies on South Africa and Central America and would not allow his Government to cooperate in Mr. Reagan's "Star Wars" program.

The Prime Minister has other complaints. As he made clear in an interview here the other day, he opposes Washington's request for free passage of its warships through the Northwest Passage, and he thinks the President has been slow in dealing with the acid rain and trade problems.

On two major issues, however, he is on President Reagan's side. The expansion of trade is one of them, and the other is the President's renewed efforts to reach a verifiable treaty with the Soviet Union on the control of nuclear weapons.

These Mr. Mulroney regards as historic opportunities that come once in a lifetime, and his concern is that the Canadian and American people are not as well aware as they should be to the possibilities.

How many people in the United States, he asks, know that the province of Ontario alone does more trade with the U.S. than Japan does?

He recalls that former President Nixon said that Japan was America's best customer. Not so, he says. "We do

Reagan  
will get  
a mixed  
reception.

\$200 billion of business a year with the U.S. — the largest two-way trade between nations anywhere in the world."

Nevertheless, he adds, we must keep producing and expanding, and cooperating. "As a matter of highest priority, we want an agreement — fair to both sides — that ends the threat to Canadian industry from U.S. protectionists who harass and restrict our exports through the misuse of trade remedy laws."

No doubt, Mr. Mulroney says, that the U.S. has justifiable grievances against nations that indulge in unfair trade practices, but Canada is not one of them and does not want to be punished for other nations' wrongs.

"We in Canada are given a choice," he says. "We can look inward and hope for the best. We can pretend to shelter what we already have while ignoring the realities of the world around us. Or we can look outward, confidently, and take the future in our own hands."

Mr. Mulroney sees the trade treaty, which will be voted up or down early next year, not merely in bilateral but in world terms. For the first time in history, he observes, all the nations are having to adjust to a revolutionary world economy, where the old assumptions of unrestricted national sovereignty are out of date.

Ever since the U.S.-Canadian Boundary Waters Agreement of 1909, he recalls, our two countries have been cooperating for the common good. He quotes Winston Churchill: "That long frontier from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, guarded only by neighborly respect and honorable obligations, is an example for every country and a pattern for the future of the world."

Prime Minister Mulroney was in China recently, listening to complaints about American imperialism. "How many divisions do the Soviets have on the Chinese border (60) and how many do you have on the Soviet border?" he asks. "All we have are a few customs and border guards. That is some difference."

Considering all this, it's odd that secondary considerations impede the Reagan-Mulroney trade talks. Challenging Canada's control of the Northwest Passage illustrates the point. Mr. Reagan is willing to recognize Canada's sovereignty over the passage, provided Canada allows our military and commercial ships to use it as they please. This is a mysterious Pentagon demand, because if the Northwest Passage were declared an international waterway, the Russians also could send their surface warships and submarines through it at will.

The chances are, however, that the President and the Prime Minister will reach agreement on this and on a trade treaty, despite the protests of the Pentagon, the labor unions and the industrial polluters.

For much larger issues are at stake in the effort to create a better world order in the last years of the century, and both the President and the Prime Minister know that much depends on how Canada and the U.S. and the Common Market in Europe lead the way. □

## My Husband Has AIDS

By Susan Day

**M**ILWAUKEE My husband and I found out in January that he is dying of AIDS. When the doctors told me the news, my first reaction was that I love my husband very much — that I always have and always will. My second reaction was to issue a loud, silent scream to society to wake up. I have learned the hard way that AIDS is everywhere. Wishful thinking and pious sermonizing cannot obliterate this plague.

My husband and I were well aware of AIDS and considered ourselves somewhat enlightened about it. But despite my husband's history of bisexuality, we blithely continued with our lives. AIDS, after all, happened to others. We occasionally worried but not enough to get tested or refrain from having children.

I look back in amazement at our powers of denial. The most difficult adjustment has been knowing that my husband will die and that our two children will lose their father.

Nothing I had read or heard prepared me for the day-to-day reality of AIDS. I now understand what thousands have endured and what hundreds of thousands will face unless a cure is found, and a halt is put to the social ostracism of victims.

Never a big man, my husband now weighs just over 100 pounds. In the first few weeks after his hospitalization, he didn't have the energy to do much more than shuffle from bedroom to bathroom or living room couch. A brief visit from family or friends left him exhausted for the rest of the day. He has improved slightly, and I know he will get stronger yet — until the next infection hits.

We still don't know when, and in what capacity, he will return to work. If he does, it is unclear how long he would continue. Already at what is considered the fourth and most serious stage of AIDS, he may have only months to live.

Hypochondria, meanwhile, has become our favorite pastime. AIDS is unlike cancer, leukemia and tuberculosis in that one never knows what ailment may ultimately lead to death. Every hangnail, pimple, rash, cough or pain becomes a matter of serious discussion. My husband, who abhorred calling a doctor if he was sick, now must immediately report any temperature over 100 degrees.

When a new fever occurs, the diagnostic procedure often begins anew. A battery of tests must be run, blood drawn, CAT scans or X-rays ordered, spinal taps or bone-marrow biopsies performed. The mind reels from the possibilities of infection.

My husband is now at home. But I know that as soon as he is overburdened by a new infection, he will have to return to the hospital. We just don't

Susan Day — this is a pseudonym — is a journalist.

know. Even when he's home, he has to return to the hospital outpatient department or clinic once or twice a week. Sometimes it's for a blood transfusion, other times an X-ray or blood work, or, if nothing else, for an examination of his latest complaint.

Then there is the anger, rational and irrational. Some days I am consumed with anger at just about everyone and everything — anger at my husband for dying and, however unwillingly, exiting the center stage of my life; anger at society for not doing more to fight this disease; anger at the insurance companies for approaching AIDS as a drain on their profits; anger at religious ostriches who fail to realize that AIDS is a medical, not moral, problem.

Most overwhelming is the anger

that my children are losing their father. Our 10-month-old girl is, fortunately, too young to know what's going on. The 2-year-old girl, however, is smart enough to know that something is up. She just doesn't know what. How many times can one tell a toddler to leave Dad alone — that he's sick and needs sleep — without the child being traumatized?

And what if the children become ill, as children do? Must we tell them not to play with their own father for fear he may catch whatever they have, taxing his already weakened immune system and leaving him prey to a life-threatening infection? How does one make all of this up to the children? What will I tell them when their father dies?

It is because of the children that my

husband and I pick and choose whom we tell about the AIDS. Our friends, families and co-workers know; our landlord and neighbors do not. The children and I have tested negative for the AIDS antibody, but we can't be sure people will believe us.

What stigmas would rain down on our children if everyone knew that their father was dying of AIDS? Would other children refuse to play with them? Would they be subject to a form of internal passport — forced to carry the results of their blood tests as proof that they were O.K.?

Neophytes at AIDS, my husband and I have not yet figured out the answers to such questions. More frightening, I know that there are questions — and fear and anger and illnesses — we have not even thought about. □



## Israeli Salt in the Pollard Wound

By Edward I. Koch

**S**pying is a deadly business. In time of war, spies know that if they get caught, the likelihood is that they will be put to death. Even in peacetime, it would not shock the conscience of the world if spies were executed. In fact, the only reason it does not happen, I imagine, is that a captured spy is too valuable a trading commodity with which to barter for the return of the capturing country's own secret agents. Of course, a policy of exchanging spies does not hurt spy recruiting efforts, either.

Which brings us to the question of Jonathan Jay Pollard. Mr. Pollard is an American Jew who betrayed this country to provide top secret information to the Israelis. He pleaded guilty to these charges and received a life sentence in United States District Court in the District of Columbia. Although treason remains a capital crime, the death penalty was not available in this case.

Whether or not the information that Mr. Pollard conveyed to Israel will ever result in the loss of American life is impossible to say. But we no

Edward I. Koch is Mayor of New York City.

longer have exclusive control over the information he has stolen and, even in the hands of an ally, our national security has been jeopardized. This is not my assessment. It was Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger who declared, "It is difficult for me to conceive of a greater harm to national security than that caused by [Mr. Pollard]."

Yet some have argued that Mr. Pollard's life sentence was too harsh. They have further claimed that the Jewish leadership in America is too frightened to speak out against this overreaction, in part because they are sensitive to "the canard of dual loyalty."

While I'm not sure I qualify as a "Jewish leader," I am a prominent American Jew who strongly believes in Zionism. I cannot speak for Jews in America, but I have never hesitated to speak for myself. I think the critics of the Pollard affair miss the mark in two significant ways.

First, I believe that many Americans — Jews and non-Jews alike — view Mr. Pollard's life sentence as just; their only regret is that each and every person convicted of betraying this country, whether their name is Pollard, Pelton, Walker or Boyce, did not receive similar treatment. Unless a poll is taken, however, we will never know where true sentiments lie.

Second, the critics have sorely misjudged what American Jews see as a major issue. While every country gathers intelligence by spying on its friends as well as on its enemies, few have the galling, poor taste to deny the obvious once they have been caught red-handed and to reward those responsible for their international misdeeds.

The Israeli Government has a special relationship with America. It is the United States that has made it possible for Israel to survive when locked in battle with Arab states or when threatened from afar by the Soviet Union. For Israel to have engaged the services of a traitorous American Jew is an action that every American Jew I know bitterly resents. They resent it the same way an American of Irish descent would despise another Irish-American who placed his loyalty to Ireland over his love of, and obligation to, America.

Further, for the Israeli Government to have refused to acknowledge its culpability and to have sought to deny its involvement by referring to the spy operation as an unauthorized rogue operation is patently false. Such assertions serve no purpose but to drag the Israeli Government even deeper into the morass.

Finally, for the Israeli Government to promote two of the key figures involved in the spy conspiracy — Col.

Aviem Sella, who was made commander of a major air base in Israel, and Rafael Eitan, who was made the head of a major industrial company in Israel — was to add insult to injury.

America's position, as expressed by Mr. Weinberger and Secretary of State George P. Shultz, has been admirably restrained. Undoubtedly, this is the result of the longstanding good relationship between Israel and the United States and Israel's strategic importance in the Middle East. But Israel's mishandling of this affair has magnified the incident as a world event, exacerbated the sting to all Americans caused by Mr. Pollard's traitorous acts and undercut the efforts of longtime Israel supporters in this country.

Israel should move quickly to take appropriate action to correct its flawed policy. One absolutely critical initiative is to give whatever support is required to insure that the official inquiry into the Pollard affair is open, thorough and expeditious. Its findings and recommendations must be candid and realistic. At a minimum, the Government should rescind the promotions of Colonel Sella and Mr. Eitan to demonstrate their concern for Israeli-American relations. If it fails to do this, Israel jeopardizes the great good will and public support it has counted on in America so often in the past. □

ON MY MIND  
A. M. RosenthalFarewell,  
First  
Ladies

**R**ight at the start, perhaps on Inauguration Day, the next First Lady of the United States will ask Government officials, press, television, diplomats and the whole blessed country never to call her the First Lady.

Well, she should. The whole First Lady business really is a piece of creaky condescension. It just means that since you married the right man it makes no difference whether you are clever or stupid, you are our number one girl. No other country is so disrespectful of the real worth of a woman as to give her such fawning attention and mock-royal status because she married a man who was later elected to high office.

Mr. Thatcher would never permit such indignity and neither, if that day arrives, would Evron M. Kirkpatrick. Simply raising the possibility of a First Gentleman shows what an insult to women is the title and concept of First Lady.

The phrase did not become widely used until 1911 when a play opened about Dolly Madison called "The First Lady of the Land." As time goes on, the title, and the smirking emphasis on reflected glory, just becomes more and more embarrassing.

Most women in this country now have professions, trades or crafts, including the higher income, higher education group from which the wives of the Presidents generally come. Those who do should go right on working, as best they can.

It will be difficult because of security and potential conflicts of interests and because newspapers and television will not really accept the idea for some time.

But making the plea for dropping the First Lady title at least will be the first step. The second will be for the wife of the President to show she really wants her individuality by simply staying away from all functions except where her absence would be damaging or rude. This would show she will do her social duty but really does not want to play the publicity game. Eventually an egalitarian-minded public will admire her for it and make that clear to television and newspapers.

If Robert Dole is smart enough to be elected, he will be smart enough to make sure that Elizabeth Dole, who was good enough to be a Cabinet member under his predecessor, is allowed to find a responsible job in Washington. Wifeotism? Only if you feel that every woman has to give up her career because her husband has power. Obviously, if it is a government job it should be one of public accountability, as are many government positions.

Elise du Pont is a real estate developer. If she avoided any publicly funded developments, why not? Anyway, she is a lawyer, like Harriet Babbitt, and it would be easy to get long lists of organizations that are dying for lawyers who won't give them bills that look like telephone numbers. If security gets in the way too much, plenty of work can be done at home.

Ernestine Schilant, who is married to Senator Bill Bradley, could go right on teaching German and comparative literature at Montclair State College in New Jersey, unless she would like a job

A new  
Declaration  
of  
Independence.

closer to the house. There are fine colleges in Washington. If the security problem is too heavy, there is nothing wrong with having classes once or twice a week in the White House.

Women who decided when they were young that raising a family was as important as being a lawyer deserve the respect of individuality too, not the false kowtow to a false title. Many would have interests in the homeless, or child care, or refugees, where there is a whole world of volunteerism awaiting. And the wife of the President could show that being a volunteer means more than making an occasional speech or posing for a camera. Like many volunteers, she would work hard and with the regularity that distinguishes the volunteer from the dilettante.

Of course, the wife of the President, professional or homemaker, will give him her opinions, tell him what she thinks of the Secretary of State and farm subsidies. When they go up to their living quarters at night is she supposed to talk about dresses and hairdressers? Any man who married a woman that vapid should not be President anyway.

But that is a phony issue that has come up with the fuss about Nancy Reagan. Her critics do not complain about what she tells him in private but about what they see as her campaigning for her point of view publicly or clandestinely. Perhaps Mrs. Reagan, able in her own right, would have been better off if she had devoted even more of her time to her interest in fighting narcotics.

So, on a volunteer basis, here is the announcement the wife of the next President should make: "Friends, call me Mrs. or call me Ms. Call me Doctor or call me Counselor. Call me gentle or call me tough. But don't pat my head and don't call me First Lady." □

## Air Today, Gone Tomorrow

By Ben Kamin

**N**ot long ago, I presented myself to an agent at the New York Air counter. This was hardly surprising since my plane ticket was tucked snugly inside a bright red folder marked "New York Air." But I was in a tentative mood, so I asked, "Is this New York Air?"

The man eyed me suspiciously. What planet did I live on? Solemnly, he answered, "Sir, there is no such thing as New York Air."

My caution had not been misplaced. I'd heard something about airline mergers and takeovers. But the grav-

Ben Kamin is a rabbi.

ity with which the agent had vaporized New York Air concerned me. "Is there," I asked, "a New York City?" He allowed there was.

In time, I boarded a Continental Airlines flight while holding a New York Air ticket from which protruded a boarding pass marked People Express. Inside the generic Boeing 737, I was handed a red bag marked "Flying Nosh" with New York Air napkins and salt packets from Texas Air. The cheese ball was Swiss. Curious to know who it was I was flying with, I awaited the captain's announcements.

"Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. This is your captain, Roy Cooper." (For as long as I can remember, the pilot on domestic flights is always named Roy Cooper.) "We want to welcome you aboard our Big Apple Flight 397 to New York City."

It is the late 1980's in the United States, ancestral home of the Wright Brothers, Amelia Earhart and Mileage Plus. You used to get dressed up, board an aircraft with delightful nervousness and be asked if this was your first time by an interested, or at least animated, flight attendant. Now even the attendants seem uncertain about the identity of their employer. Today's seasoned travelers know enough not to ask a living soul which plane is going to turn up in what landing space. They consult the monitor.

Not long ago, for example, I was waiting for a colleague at the airport. TWA Flight 612 was about to land. I began to watch for a TWA jet among the occasional landings. American, United, two private Cessnas, Ozark, Midway, USAir. An announcement came: "Ladies and gentlemen, Flight 612 has landed and will appear at the

gate momentarily." But I hadn't seen a TWA airliner make an approach.

"Excuse me," I asked Red Jacket at the ticket counter, "Is there anywhere else the planes land?"

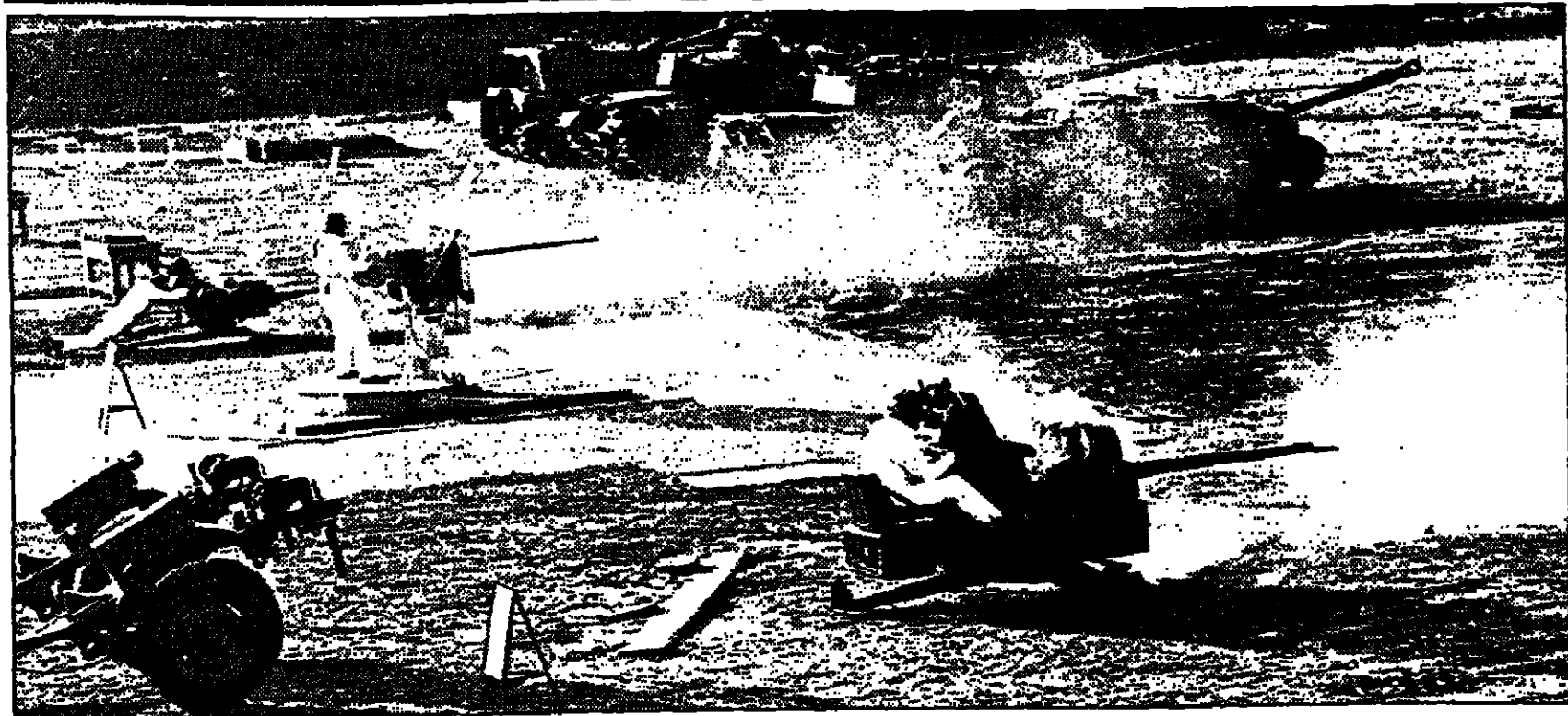
"No, sir," he replied cheerfully. "You can see it all from these windows."

"So where is Flight 612?" Red Jacket did not look up: "612 is already here, sir — just at the gate. Passengers are disembarking."

Baffled, I returned to the window. And there at the gate was TWA Flight 612. It was just that the plane was green, and read "Ozark." Silly me, expecting aviation verisimilitude. Why, TWA and Ozark had mated, and I never even knew! There had not even been a monitor overhead to give me the news.

At this writing, of course, everything may be changing again. □





Testing tank guns on the Rheinmetall firing range

## Marketing West German Arms

The industry is trying to shed the burden of history and bid for new clients.

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

**T**HE issue was illicit arms shipments to an embargoed country, and a legislative commission held hearings. Some witnesses — Government employees and industry executives — simply could not remember key events; the head of Government said he was unaware of any wrongdoing, and his senior foreign policy aide said he had not bothered to read a key contract that lay on his desk for months before he fed it into a shredder.

It all sounded like the Iran arms deal. But, in fact, the committee met just before Christmas in a Government office building here in the West German capital. The subject was the shipment of blueprints for diesel-driven submarines to South Africa, in violation of West German law and a United Nations embargo. The German Government-owned shipyard, Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft, had pocketed \$25 million for the plans.

Officials have tried to play down the significance of the deal, calling it an aberration. But the affair has focused critics' attention on the arms industry at a time when it is seeking to shed the burden of Germany's militaristic past and compete on world markets with the American, British and French industries.

The very idea of a German arms industry is controversial at home and abroad. For many, the names of Krupp or Messerschmitt still resound with the ring of Germany's martial past and its role in two world wars.

At home, opposition parties, especially the Greens and the Social Democrats, have repeatedly criticized Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Government for its arms policies.

Israel bitterly resists German arms sales to Arab nations, arguing that the nation of the Holocaust should not grant military aid to the enemies of the Jews.

Nevertheless, the West German arms industry is in the midst of an aggressive campaign to expand its markets and increase its sales. In coming weeks, German shipyards will bid against French, British, Italian and Dutch companies to build eight diesel submarines for Saudi Arabia. The deal, which includes construction of a naval base and three years' technical assistance, is worth \$3.5 billion. It is unclear whether Bonn would approve such a deal, since Israel would probably oppose it vehemently.

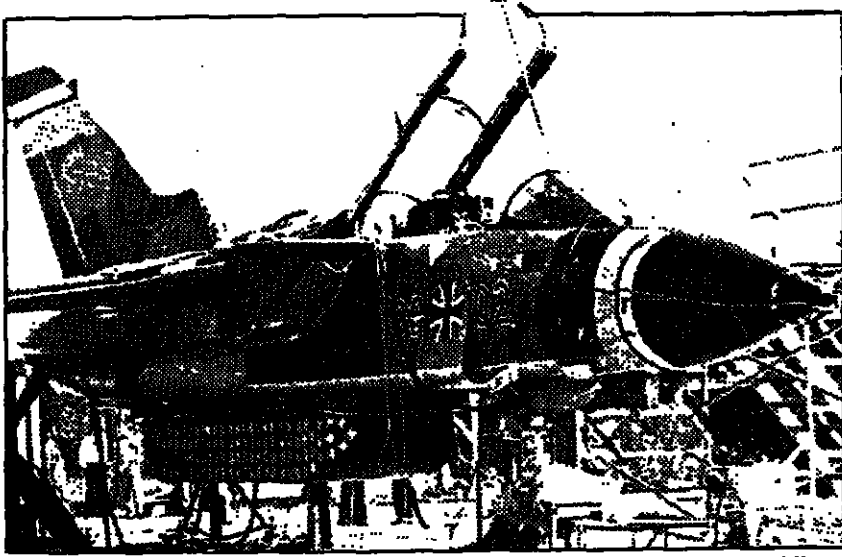
The industry also seeks Government permission to enter the highly regarded Leopard II tank, built by a consortium of companies that includes Krauss Maffei and Rheinmetall, in a Saudi battle tank competition. (Diplomatic pressure from Israel has succeeded in blocking the sale of Leopard tanks to Saudi Arabia in the past.)

German shipyards would like to sell several 122-class frigates to Pakistan. The frigates feature extremely advanced weapons systems and tracking devices. For the first time, the German Navy is actively supporting the marketing effort by lobbying decision makers and lending its own vessels for demonstrations. The navy is increasingly worried that the decline of the German shipbuilding industry will hurt its ability to get the ships it needs.

German companies that once developed weapons solely for the needs of the Bundeswehr, the German armed forces, are now developing products for the world market. Krauss Maffei devised the Puma armored personnel carrier for sale abroad, and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Bow, the aerospace group, is helping India to develop a battle helicopter.

And as the Bundeswehr's appetite for new products diminishes, companies are seeking markets for replacement parts abroad. MTU-Motoren und Turbinen-Union, a Daimler-Benz subsidiary that manufactures the Leopard's diesel engine, and Zahnradfabrik Friedrichshafen, which makes the gear box, are increasingly seeking sales to developing countries.

West Germany allows arms sales to NATO partners and to other se-



The Tornado jet fighter

### West Germany's Top Arms Manufacturers

Company	Principal Products	Value of Weapons Production* (\$ millions)
Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm	Aerospace	\$1,290
AEG**	Military electronics, naval design	740
Krauss-Maffei	Tanks, armored vehicles	740
Siemens	Military electronics, communication systems	470
MTU Motoren-und Turbinen-Union**	Tank and aircraft engines	430
Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft	Shipbuilding	390
Rheinmetall	Artillery	350
Wegmann & Co.	Military vehicles	350
Krupp MaK Maschinenbau	Tanks	310
Blohm & Voss	Shipbuilding	310

\* Estimated data for 1983, most recent year available.  
\*\* Wholly owned subsidiary of Daimler-Benz.

Source: Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

lected non-Communist nations. But it limits exports outside NATO and all but bans them to developing countries, to governments it considers oppressive and to potential war zones.

Mr. Kohl's Government has taken steps to relax the curbs. In July 1985 it granted the six members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, known as ASEAN, quasi-NATO status. Since then, West German arms dealers have beefed up their presence in the region, organizing "German streets" at recent arms fairs in Singapore and Bangkok. Messerschmitt, in cooperation with the Indonesian helicopter industry, and the consortium that builds the Leopard I tank has offered it to Thailand.

West German companies sold about \$2.1 billion worth of arms abroad last year, roughly double the amount it delivered in 1982. Although that is less than 2 percent of total exports, the industry employs about 300,000 people. Germany, with its strong naval tradition, has been a leader in submarine technology; its powerful automotive industry has helped the country excel in the construction of armored vehicles such as tanks.

**E**VEN though most of its arms exports go to NATO countries, West Germany is Europe's third-largest arms exporter after France and Britain. If the figures were to include weapon components that the Germans supply to non-German partners, Germany might even outrank Britain.

West German business leaders have charged that Bonn, by failing to follow other North Atlantic Treaty Organization governments like London or Paris in supporting its arms industry, fostered a corporate gray zone — an "I-don't-want-to-know" policy, encouraging arms companies to deal freely, then dropping them when their deals become public.

"The Government knows very well these exports are vital, but at the same time it is acutely aware they are politically unpalatable," said Wolfgang Flume, editorial director of the Munich publishing group, a leading military publication company. "So the Government is signaling to the companies, 'You are allowed to do this, but if you are exposed, it's your own fault.'"

The South African deal illustrates the dilemma. The German yards had no chance of obtaining permission to build the ships South Africa sought to replace its fleet of French-built Daphne submarines. So 12 times, between October 1984 and June 1985 it delivered containers of microfilm with the blueprints of Germany's highly regarded U-209 to the South African Embassy in Bonn. They were then flown by diplomatic pouch to Pretoria.

Howaldtswerke and an engineering group, Ingenieurkontor Lübeck, were each fined \$27,000, and the legislative commission is pressing its investigation of what role the Government of Chancellor Kohl played.

Documents presented to the investigative committee indicated that Howaldtswerke officials, including chief executive Klaus Ahlers, believed Bonn had given them the green light to proceed with the South African deal. But Government officials, including Mr. Kohl, testified that they had not condoned the deal.

Similarly, Messerschmitt was embarrassed in January by disclosures it had negotiated to sell \$1 billion worth of military transport planes to Tehran. Sepp Horst, the Messerschmitt deputy chief executive, said the company "was encouraged" by the Bonn Government "to go to Tehran." The Government, however, later said it had rejected the sale.

A number of changes in the dynamics of the arms industry have led to increased foreign sales. West German shipbuilding has suffered heavy losses in recent years as orders have gone increasingly to cheaper Asian yards.

In addition, orders are shrinking as weapons get increasingly complex. "As weapons systems grow more sophisticated and more expensive, production numbers are growing smaller," said an arms industry expert at the Federation of West German Industry in Cologne. In the 1960's, Germany's Air Force purchased 600 of the American Starfighter, the original backbone of its air defense capacity. But it will buy only 235 Tornados to replace the Starfighter, and only 200 of the planned European fighter of the 1990's, now under consideration.

Moreover, while the major manu-

facturing nations once dominated European arms production, smaller nations such as Spain, Greece and Denmark are now seeking to establish arms industries of their own.

Franz Josef Strauss, the conservative premier of Bavaria and a political ally of Mr. Kohl, is among the most ardent supporters of a liberalized arms export policy. Numerous military contractors, including Siemens, the electronics corporation, and Messerschmitt, have their headquarters in Bavaria. Mr. Strauss sits on the board of Messerschmitt and the Airbus Consortium, the civilian aircraft company that builds military transport versions of its planes.

Mr. Strauss couches his argument in foreign policy terms. "Germany must be once again willing to assume a certain measure of world political responsibility," Mr. Strauss said. "Germany's contribution in Africa, in Latin America, in the Middle East, is essential. We must gradually come out from the shadow of the past."

"I'm no proponent of an unbridled or unrestrained weapons export policy," he said. "But where we can contribute to stability, we should not shy from acting like a normal nation. We want no priority, but where the English, French and Italians are active, the Germans must be prepared to accept the same responsibility." If that "responsibility" means rich weapons contracts, so much the better.

Proponents of increased arms exports also contend that Germany's arms industry cannot afford to forfeit the technological advances that flow from arms research.

Those who call for retention of strict curbs argue partly from history, and partly from politics.

"We won't forget the lessons to be drawn from Hitler's Germany, when songs were sung about Germany the arms forge," said Dietrich Stobbe, a Social Democratic member of parliament. "That is not the image we want." Mr. Stobbe is on a committee investigating the South African submarine deal. "The case has exemplary value," he said. "The arms industry must remain under the close surveillance of the Government."

He also says that the arms makers' image can hurt business. The Government of Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke, who is an ardent opponent of apartheid, is having second thoughts about ordering West German submarines since the news of the South Africa deal broke.

The Social Democrats, however, do not speak with one voice on the issue. The labor unions are major Social Democratic supporters, and union leaders linked to the machine building industry tend to favor measures to strengthen the arms industry.

The Greens oppose expansion of the arms industry on pacifist grounds. They also argue that in third world countries, Western arms industries unscrupulously siphon off money needed for economic development.

**O**NE way the German industry skirts export curbs — and dampens potential controversy — is by joining multinational defense projects that are not subject to German regulations. In 1978, Israel sharply criticized West Germany for failing to prevent the delivery of Messerschmitt missile systems to Syria. The German response was that Messerschmitt had only supplied components to Euromissile, a subsidiary of France's Aerospatiale, which delivered the missiles outside the German area of control.

And Israel was unable to stop the sale of 72 Tornado aircraft to Riyadh. Although German companies produce 42.5 percent of the Tornado, the sale was done through London, a partner in the Tornado consortium.

Economists, in fact, say the only long-term solution to the industry's problems lies in joint development projects like the one that brought forth the Tornado aircraft, with participating nations dividing up the cost and distributing the development and manufacturing tasks. Last month a study by the Independent European Program Group, released a study called "Toward a Stronger Europe," warning that the European arms industry, like steel or automobiles, would have to be restructured if it is to remain competitive.

But that remains a distant goal. "At the moment, we're going in the opposite direction," said Mr. Flume of Munich. And until the industry comes under strong Government pressure to restructure, West German arms makers are likely to continue competing in the traditional way, trying to sell their arms wherever arms are sold.

# The Economy

## WEEK IN BUSINESS

British Petroleum is seeking the rest of Standard Oil at \$70 a share, or \$7.4 billion, which would be the third-largest acquisition in the United States. But analysts say B.P., which already owns 55 percent of Standard, may have to come up with more money to prevail. The move would allow B.P. a greater foothold for development of American oil and gas resources, but analysts note it also would further concentrate B.P.'s dependence on Alaskan and North Sea oil. However, most analysts say the move, which was not unexpected, is smart now, while oil and gas properties are cheaper and the market appears poised for a rebound.

The Government will retaliate for what it calls Japan's breach of an agreement to open its markets to semiconductors and to stop dumping chips in the United States. Among the steps the Administration is taking are stiff tariffs — up to 100 percent — on such Japanese products as calculators and small televisions. The Japanese say they have been trying to honor the pact, but manufacturers have been reluctant to cooperate. The measures, the first taken against Japan since World War II, signal a new tack in the American attempt to reduce its huge deficit with Japan.

A trade bill passed by the House Ways and Means Committee offers a tough, but not too tough, approach that is more likely to win Administration approval, its members say. But a proposed amendment requiring some countries to systematically reduce their deficits could doom the bill.

Consumer prices rose four-tenths of 1 percent in February. Higher energy and import prices led the way.

Added to the seven-tenths of 1 percent increase in January, that means prices — and inflation — are running at an annual rate of 6.7 percent. Analysts say inflation is expected to increase, but perhaps not by that much. Durable goods orders rose 6 percent in February, a big improvement over January's 9.9 percent drop.

Stocks set more records but ended on a down note in a market that alternately jumped and skidded. The Dow Jones industrial average, after closing at a record 2,372.59 on Thursday, finished at 2,335.80, up just 2.28 points for the week.

The dollar continued to fall despite intervention by the Fed and other central banks to support it against the yen. The dollar had been rolled by conflicting statements from Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d and the Fed chairman, Paul A. Volcker, on whether the dollar had fallen enough.

Corrail went public with a \$1.65 billion initial stock offering, the biggest in corporate history. The sale to enthusiastic investors of the 85 percent of the now-profitable freight railroad owned by the Government marked the continuation of a privatization trend and the end of years of haggling over whether to sell the stake to a company — Norfolk Southern had offered \$1.9 billion for it — or the public.

A 40 percent stake in Shearson Lehman will be sold, 27 percent to the public and its employees and 13 percent to Nippon Life. The sale, announced by its parent, American Express, would give Shearson more than \$1.2 billion in new capital.



A tax fraud case was filed against three financiers who the Government said ran a tax shelter scheme that produced \$350 million in fraudulent deductions. Among the clients of the scheme, who were not charged, were Laurence A. and Preston R. Tisch, the chief executive of CBS and the United States Postmaster General.

The Senate passed a bank bill that prohibits any new limited-service banks, limits new real estate, insurance and securities powers of banks and gives a \$7.5 billion infusion into the beleaguered F.S.L.I.C.

A.T.&T. will move most of its employees from its Manhattan headquarters building to New Jersey as part of its cost-cutting program.

India will be allowed to buy an American supercomputer, but one far less powerful than India would have liked. The sale would be the first to a nation with strong Soviet ties.

The Treasury is considering changing the way it borrows money in the open market in light of expected higher tax receipts and smaller budget deficits. The Treasury asked securities dealers for suggestions, such as ways to mix long- and short-term issues and adjust maturities.

Anheuser-Busch is in turmoil following the resignations of several top officials, including Dennis P. Long, the vice president. The officials quit under the cloud of purported improper payments to executives by an advertising agency seeking business.

Marvin Davis bid \$200 million for Resorts International. The casino company has already agreed to sell controlling interest to Donald J. Trump, the New York developer.

GAF doubled its stake in Borg-Warner by buying the 9.1 percent of the company held by Irwin L. Jacobs. Mr. Jacobs's \$3.29 billion offer for all of Borg had collapsed days earlier.

The Philippines reached agreement to reschedule its \$3.6 billion debt. And South Africa reached a debt agreement and will resume payments that it halted in 1985.

Latin debtors rejected a plan by Treasury Secretary Baker that would have adjusted United States control over the Inter-American Development Bank.

Miscellaneous. Carl C. Icahn sold his 15 percent stake in USAIR for a small profit. ... McLean Industries, in Chapter 11, is selling its United States Line and South America units. ... The S.E.C. censured KMG Main Hurdman for "improper conduct" in two Texas audits. ... The Hafta raised their bid for Supermarkets General to at least \$1.7 billion.

### The New York Stock Exchange

#### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 27, 1987

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Cnnl	23,344,800	30 1/4	...
AT&T	16,783,800	24 1/4	+
Borg Wa	13,793,800	44 1/4	+ 2 1/4
IBM	9,706,700	150 3/4	+ 2 1/4
Std Oil	9,347,300	70 1/4	+ 6 1/4
USX	8,938,500	27 1/4	+ 1/4
Cnnl E	8,891,100	38 1/4	...
Phil Pet	8,177,900	16	+ 3/4
LTV	7,914,500	3 1/4	+ 1/4
Wendy	7,893,500	11 1/4	- 1/4
Navistar	7,079,400	6 1/4	- 3/4
Best Tr	6,833,000	23 1/4	- 1 1/4
Pepsi C	6,668,800	33 1/4	- 1 1/4
Am Exp	6,125,500	76 1/4	- 1/4
Occi Pet	6,008,400	33 1/4	...

#### MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
854	1,091	2,188	361	23
Week	1,245	705	2,181	320
Prev. Week	1,091	705	2,181	320

#### VOLUME

Total Sales	Same Per. 1986
330,746,290	622,606,160

#### WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High	Low	Last	Net Chng
206.4	141.7	78.3	164.6
202.2	138.3	77.3	161.0
202.2	138.4	77.3	161.0
202.2	138.4	77.3	161.0

### The American Stock Exchange

#### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 27, 1987

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Wickes	11,598,400	4	+ 1/4
Home Sh	4,288,800	20	- 1/4
Tex Air	2,357,700	38 1/4	- 2 1/4
Wang B	1,927,200	16	- 1/4
Echo Bay	1,463,300	39 1/4	+ 4 1/4
EntlMk	1,443,700	13	- 1 1/4
CustEn	1,409,800	2 1/4	+ 1/4
WDigital	1,396,100	23 1/4	+ 1/4
Allst	1,267,100	12 1/4	...
LoTel	1,256,200	19 1/4	- 1 1/4

#### MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
407	393	944	115	15
Week	442	345	149	936
Prev. Week	442	345	149	936

#### VOLUME

Total Sales	Same Per. 1986
83,032,272	50,763,690

#### WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High	Low	Last	Net Chng
206.4	141.7	78.3	164.6
202.2	138.3	77.3	161.0
202.2	138.4	77.3	161.0
202.2	138.4	77.3	161.0



# Barber's barb

CONSIDERED as a genius, hairdressers are not among my favourite people. They prance about you as if cutting your hair were some intricate ritual. They either fawn on you in hope of a large tip, or snub you. They do not like you if it's only a haircut you want, not a shampoo, a dye, a curling, a straightening, a whatever. And if they don't like you, they make sure you know it.

I don't doubt there are some perfectly delightful hairdressers too, and I know women who swear by theirs and travel from one end of town to the other because there's no one like their Jacques or Annette.

Perhaps I've been unlucky in mine. I've tried several in my day, and not one of them has done what I asked of him. Because that's another thing about hairdressers: they always know better. They nod yes,

yes, when you ask them to cut it long in front and short in back, and then proceed to cut it short in front and long in back. They are devilish expensive too.

SO ONE DAY I got fed up with the lot of them and decided to try something new - not a hair stylist, not a coiffeur, not a grand mogul with whom you must make an appointment weeks ahead, but a plain, no-nonsense barber.

He's called plain no-nonsense Moshe, and I swear by him. It's true the other customers in his shop - all of them male - do give me some funny looks when I walk in; but Moshe himself, an old friend by now, is always happy to see me.

I believe he is secretly rather proud that I prefer him to all those Jacques and Annettes. Another

## RANDOMALIA Miriam Arad

advantage he has over them is that his conversation is far more interesting. Let's give him the floor, then.

I came in Sunday, but you weren't here.

Moshe: Uhu, I only got back day before yesterday, from Los Angeles. Went for my sister's youngest girl's bat-mitzva. Stayed three weeks. I tell you, it's no life they have there. I sit down to talk with my sister, after a minute she jumps up; got to take the boy to his tennis lesson. Three-quarters of an hour back.

She returns, we have coffee. We finish the coffee - oops, she's got to take the girl to ballet lesson. An hour there, an hour back. That's what the women do there - drive, drive all day.

SO IT FIGURES they've got no time to cook either. I tell you, they

eat everything in restaurants. Everything! Breakfast they eat in a restaurant, lunch they eat in a restaurant, supper they eat in a restaurant. No, what am I saying? Lunch they don't eat at all. A sandwich they eat. What kind of thing is that? Three weeks I was there - not one proper home-cooked meal did I eat. I don't know what all those Israelis want there.

And work - they work like slaves. One brother-in-law of my sister's - he didn't get to the bat-mitzva. Why? The bat-mitzva is at four - at four he can't leave his work.

Can you imagine a thing like that happening here? That for a bat-mitzva in the family a man shouldn't be able to get off a bit early? I tell you, it wasn't for me, that Los Angeles. Give me Jerusalem any time.

## Maccabi Tel Aviv

# One down, one to go

By DON GOULD  
Post Basketball Reporter

YAD ELIYAHU. - Outside of a last-minute rush by Hapoel Tel Aviv that was aided and abetted by a simultaneous lapse on the part of Maccabi, which trimmed the champions' lead from a maximum of 21 to the final 10-point spread, Maccabi Tel Aviv's basketball hegemony was never really in doubt. They re-established their dominance with conviction in the third and final playoff game here last night to clinch the national league title for an 18th successive year.

After last week's upset victory by Hapoel in the first game, some in the challengers' camp had nurtured a dream that Maccabi would be denied their 28th title. Last Thursday, Maccabi punctured that illusion and last night they buried it with an 86-76 victory, which was really not as close

as the final score suggests. The suspense in fact lasted all of four minutes. From the moment that Kevin Magee sank an uncharacteristic three-pointer to put Maccabi into a 9-7 lead, the game was theirs. Spearheaded by the sharp shooting of Doron Jamchee who had 14 points in the first half and Magee's opportunistic 12, Maccabi slowly consolidated their lead until it became unassailable.

At the half the lead was a commanding 41-28 and even the Hapoel bench knew it would take a miracle to reverse the trend.

That latest was hardly helped by numerous turnovers. Early nerves made the first half a sloppy affair on both sides as Maccabi took advantage of their fast breaks they love so much.

In the second half, Maccabi completely dictated the tempo and Hapoel had no real answer for their running attack. They repeatedly tried to ease the pace with a constructed offence but it was not until midway through the second half that they could get their big men Robinson and

Mercer into consolidated action. Maccabi stretched their lead to 20 points as Magee continued his imperious performance and Jamchee remained hot. By then, however, Zvi Sherf decided to introduce Mickey Berkowitz who had not started and was only brought off the bench at this late stage.

Hapoel's offence was now entirely in the hands of Amos Frishman who bumped in a number of successive three-pointers collecting a total tally of 24 points.

Then came the last-gasp Hapoel spurt; but already Maccabi were coasting - their minds on Thursday night's bigger prize yet - the European Cup itself.

The tightest defence imaginable was the key to Maccabi's success.

Top Scorers - Magee 24, Jamchee 20 for Maccabi, and Frishman 24 for Hapoel

# Shaggy dog tale

IF YOU HAVE a long-haired dog or cat then it has to be regularly groomed. If it isn't, its hair gets matted in a fearsome way and this is an invitation to skin problems. Many times ungroomed pets have chunks of matted hair that look and feel like chunks of felt...which they are.

These tags of hair are matted all the way in to the skin and it is here that "hot spots" or skin ulcerations break out.

If a puppy or kitten is regularly groomed from an early age then this does not happen. But if it has been neglected, then you need special patience and perhaps some experienced advice in order to get things right again.

First of all, in case of dogs, a warm bath with a good shampoo is in order. This should be followed with a creme-type hair rinse - something like Wella's Life-Text is ideal since this leaves the hair of the pet soft and easier to comb or brush. If the dog or cat has mats of felted fur then there is only one way to get rid of them: cut them away with sharp scissors, being careful not to nick the animal's skin while doing so.

When all the felted bits around the ears, under the neck and along the

hindquarters have been trimmed away, the animal should be carefully brushed with a good firm brush and then combed. This will remove the tangles that have not yet formed into felted mats. Pay especial attention to ears and the area around them as well as to all places where the hair is long.

When this is done the only remaining problem is to see to it that grooming is frequent and regular so that you never have to face this particular job again. Once a week is usually adequate and believe me, 15 minutes a week doing the job on a regular basis is a lot easier than two or three hours setting matters right.

CATS, OF COURSE, do not need bathing but the grooming is much easier if done with the use of a so-called "dry shampoo," available at the pet shop. This is a powder which, sprinkled on the pet and then brushed out, will clean out all oil and dirt. This material is also good for cleaning a puppy's pelt since no pup should be bathed before it is at least half a year old and then only on a very warm day or in a heated place, preferably using a warm hair dryer.

Grooming for cats is even more



## FURS FINS & FEATHERS

D'vora Ben Shaul

urgent than for dogs since cats, licking themselves to get clean, can and do swallow quantities of hair from the ungroomed pelt. This may collect in the stomach and intestine and causes the well-known gastric obstructions called "hair balls." These can be deadly and all long-haired cats should have a regular oil supplement in their food. A good source is the oil of canned tuna and sardines.

As in the case of dogs, all felted fur should be cut away and the rest of the coat carefully brushed and combed. The dry shampoo makes the fur slicker and easier to comb. In the absence of a dry shampoo simple talc or even cornflour are very helpful.

If you find that small sores have already developed under the felted tufts, or if you inadvertently nicked the skin while cutting them away, treat the spot immediately with a good disinfectant.

Of course, if you have allowed your cat or dog to grow up without grooming, then you can be sure that you'll get precious little cooperation from them at this point. A dog may have to be leashed and muzzled for grooming and a cat will require an enormous amount of patience. After

a few groomings, however, they will settle down and may, if you don't frighten them, come to like their grooming sessions.

This is also the opportunity to trim the dog's toenails (not the cat's, they need their claws). The dog's nails should not touch the floor when it walks, as this can cause sore feet and lead to permanent distortions in the walking pattern. Use a proper nail clipper from the pet shop and be careful not to cut into the quick of the nail. In light-coloured nails you can see where the blood supply begins but in dark nails you have to be careful. If you do accidentally cut too deep you should stop at once, comfort the animal until it stops complaining and put disinfectant on the damaged nail.

All of this sounds more complicated than it is. In the end, it should be a routine procedure requiring no more than 15 minutes to half an hour a week. But it is essential and if you cannot or will not groom the animal properly, take it to a professional groomer if you can afford one.

However much you may like this type of animal, it is cruel to keep them if you cannot take proper care of them.

ence was treated to some beautiful work by the first desk cellist in the Chausson; the saxophone soloist in the Ravel; the English horn in the Sheriff; and, as usual, the first desk flute throughout the evening.

In general, the woodwind section is one of the great strengths of the JSO, a delight to hear and a reminder of the standard of which the whole orchestra is capable when they put their minds and hearts to it.

DANIEL ZIFF

## Dictated

ISRAELI PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA - Sir Alexander Gibson conducting with Uri Planka, violin; Michael Harnan, cello; Bruce Weinstein, oboe; and Zeev Dorman, bassoon (Miami Auditorium, Tel Aviv, March 25, 1987). Overture: "Le Corsaire" (Hector Berlioz); Concerto in B flat major for violin, cello, oboe, bassoon and orchestra; Elgar: Symphony No. 1 in B flat major.

A CONDUCTOR should mark the tempo, indicate entrances, illustrate the shaping of the phrases with the movements of his arms and communicate his interpretative conceptions to his musicians, by whatever means he finds appropriate. But he should not stifle his players with minutely detailed and overly specific directions, for almost every note of the score and every aspect of the performance, even minor ones. But that is exactly what Sir Alexander Gibson did.

His jerky, strangely inconsistent movements elicited strange accents, sudden and unexpected dynamic changes and nervous divisions of tempi. He simply would not let his

## MUSICREVIEWS

musicians play, feel free, be absorbed in their music.

The orchestra subjected itself respectfully to all Gibson's rather arbitrary instructions and what we have is a reflection of his mannerism. "Victims" were the Berlioz overture and the Elgar symphony, which crumbled into pieces, which never gained momentum and never combined into something whole, continuous and flowing.

The Haydn stonification provided a refreshing interlude. Planka led brilliantly, shining both with his vibrant tone and exuberant musicality. Harnan, Weinstein and Dorman followed suit.

BENJAMIN BAR-AM

## Too loud

ISRAELI SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, David Shalton conducting, with Heather Harper, soprano (Jerusalem, Henry Crown Hall, March 25), Sheriff: Festive Prelude; Bernstein:

Symphony No. 1, "Jerusalem"; Chausson: Poème de l'Amour et de la Mer Op. 19; Ravel: Bolero.

"HOW," asked my concert companion, "are you going to write that the concert was too loud?"

Too loud might be forgivable were everything played extremely well, but this was not the case.

Conductor Shalton was simply swept away by a desire to overstate everything, and in the effort rode roughshod over many fine details in the score, as well as frequently blanketing the soloist.

HEATHER HARPER sang beautifully, in both the Bernstein and the Chausson, the latter offering an exciting vehicle for her brilliant voice and superb artistry. Would that the conductor had inspired the same level of performance from his orchestra.

When on their own the orchestra's solo players responded more to their own muse, which was fine. The audi-

...another credit surprise  
at Super-Sol and Hypercol!

**Buy Today  
and Pay by  
Shavvuot  
2.6.87**

For owners of:  
Visa  
Isracard  
Kol-Check  
Mo'adon Shekem

Holiday Price Reductions  
in All Departments

★ At Super-Sol - with every purchase from NIS 50  
★ At Hypercol - with every purchase from NIS 100

**SUPER-SOL • HYPERCOL**

## How To obtain Information Easily and Speedily?

When seeking information, in the course of your work, in the computerised information pools at your disposal, you are faced with two main problems:

One: How to thread your way among the hundreds of information sources, their access codes, search techniques, the special commands and procedures of each and every one of them.

Two: How to select the precise bit of information desired from the particular source, in the most convenient, fast and economical manner possible.

EASYNET - the largest computerised information library in the world, was set up to solve both these problems for you.

Are you looking for information that may reside in several different databases, but you're not interested in examining each one separately?

Are you interested in examining a specific item of information which appears in various sources, before ordering it and committing yourself?

Or perhaps you require specific information very quickly and you don't have time to thumb through vast quantities of information on the way to the desired item?

No problem, simply press the button and EASYNET does the work for you.

EASYNET allows you convenient, economical and quick access to some 1000 databases in the world's leading information centers, among them: Dialog, BRS, Newsnet, ADP, Questel, S.D.C., on subjects such as finance, economics, companies, patents, technology, science, medicine, events of all sorts and more...

EASYNET does the searching for you in a regular, friendly language, without complex orders. You are also relieved of the need to be acquainted with the structure, search from and access to each of the hundreds of desired information databases.

EASYNET also saves you the need to subscribe to each one of the individual information pools, or to sign batches of contracts and to make monthly payments to a large number of information suppliers.

Interesting? Just phone us and we will arrange for a non-obligatory demonstration.

**EasyNet**

Largest Computerised Library in the World

**GOLDNET** 7, Kefitot Sabkai St. Tel Aviv 61240 Tel. 03-494444

**TELDAN** 1750 7 Derach Hashalom St. P.O. Box 18034 Tel Aviv 61800 Tel. 03-250073

Member of the Aurec-Golden Pages Group







MARKET  
PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

Markets in  
turmoil

The focus of market watchers has shifted overseas again, in the wake of several dramatic developments around the world. But before we look elsewhere, a glance at Tel Aviv.

Bank Leumi's announcement that it was lowering interest rates gave the share market a shot in the arm on Thursday and yesterday. This was enough to carry the price level higher again, after several days of meandering. However, yesterday's trading gave clear signs that the impetus was again fading, and if we hear of no more banks, or the Bank of Israel itself, cutting their interest rates, then the market may slip back somewhat. End-of-quarter positioning by the mutual funds should be enough to hold it for the next two days, and for the month the figures will be positive enough.

Looking further ahead, April is usually a good month for shares, but that was connected to the old tax year. Under the new rules things might be different, but here, too, it looks like interest rate considerations will remain paramount.

Bonds, both regular, and bank share, are almost totally becalmed, and it would take important new news regarding inflation, or a bigger-than-expected cut in interest rates, to shake them out of their lethargy. The bank shares now have the additional problem of the renewed fall in the dollar to contend with.

Which brings us to the international markets. The G-6 agreement is fairly obviously in tatters and the dollar has renewed its slide, especially against the yen. At the same time, and apparently as a spin-off effect, the price of gold has picked up.

But then, so have shares generally, and the bull market exhibits no signs of running out of steam.

The question is, can all these different markets be understood in an overall context, or are they each talking to themselves in their own language. There is one factor that links, or affects, them all, directly or indirectly, and that is our old friend, the rate of interest.

This can be most easily demonstrated by supposing the following scenario: The dollar continues to fall rapidly, and Washington reacts by raising dollar interest rates. What happens? In the currency markets, the dollar recovers, at least somewhat. In the bullion markets, prices get clobbered. The cost of money is the "common denominator," as we have seen in our own local market in recent weeks.

In fact, dollar interest rates have risen somewhat recently, and the general expectation is against further discount and prime rate cuts in the foreseeable future. But the sluggish state of the U.S. economy is not going to encourage the Federal Reserve to seek the tighter money.

Thus we have a situation where, internationally as locally, the markets are fluid, ready and willing to be pushed around by each bit of news, but nevertheless displaying clearcut major trends.

Finally, we could make the comparison complete by pointing out that both in the local and the international economies, the biggest threats are also amazingly parallel. In both cases they come from the debt crisis — abroad that of South America and the domestic American agriculture and energy sectors, at home from the bank share "arrangement" and our own collapsing agricultural and construction sectors. But this is small consolation, particularly to bemused investors seeking to protect their funds.

## Lorincz slams high interest rates

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter  
Shlomo Lorincz, formally appointed head of the Bank of Israel's Advisory Committee, yesterday termed interest rates excessively high, in effect attacking the central bank's current policy.

Speaking shortly after the cabinet approved him as chairman of the panel, Lorincz said his views were tentative and that he would discuss the situation with bank officials further. He recommended that the commercial banks take measures to pre-October 1983 crash price. The fewer shares sold, the less cost to the government, which has promised to purchase them at a guaranteed price in October 1987 and 1988.

Lorincz's appointment, which had been worked out between the Labour and Likud leaders last week, was confirmed by the cabinet along with those of eight other committee members. They are: Bank Hapoalim Chairman Eitan Berglass, who will act as committee vice chairman;

Moshavim  
hope debt plan  
wins fast okay

By ANDY COURT  
For the Jerusalem Post  
The Moshav Movement and the Jewish Agency settlement department are angling for the Ravid committee's recovery plan for the country's moshavim to win approval before Wednesday, when the state budget is scheduled to be voted by the Knesset.

But it's uncertain whether the economic inner cabinet, which gave its approval in principle to the Ravid recommendations on Friday, will be able to agree on the specific conditions of an agreement in time.

While the economic inner cabinet did give a tentative nod to the plan, which would reschedule some NIS 650 million in moshav debts and write off another NIS150m., it did not specify when and how the money would be provided. Nor did it say what conditions the moshavim would have to meet before the aid money is disbursed.

Treasury officials said they were now pressing for certain reforms in the way the moshav purchasing organizations operate as a precondition for government help. One Treasury source said, He expected the inner cabinet to consider the Ravid plan in much greater detail tomorrow.

Nissim Zivli, co-chief of the Jewish Agency's settlement department, said he feared that if the Ravid plan was not accepted by both the inner cabinet and the Knesset Finance Committee before the government budget, then "there are certain politicians who will try to make political capital out of it."

Gedalia Gal, co-secretary of the Moshav Movement, said yesterday that the longer it takes for the Ravid plan to win approval, the more likely more moshav purchasing organizations would collapse. He also expressed concern that individual moshavim opposing the Ravid plan would use the time to convince others in their communities.

The premise of the Ravid plan is that the government will provide the source money for rescheduling the moshavim's debts at relatively low interest rates, provided that the commercial banks and Jewish Agency write off a portion of what is owed to them. The moshavim must also promise to make substantial structural changes.

Some Treasury officials, however, claim that the Ravid committee got bogged down sketching the amount of money the creditors would forgive and the government would reschedule, at the expense of the more substantive changes that might lead to a lasting solution.

Bank Leumi Chairman Meir Hershkovitz, Bank Discount Chairman Yosef Ciechanover, Hevrat Ha'Ovdin boost efficiency and profits, which would enable them to lower their interest rates without waiting for the Bank of Israel to spur them on.

Lorincz also said that the commercial banks had to improve their profit margins in order to reduce the cost of the bank shares arrangement to the taxpayer. "The public isn't aware of the significance of the arrangement," he said.

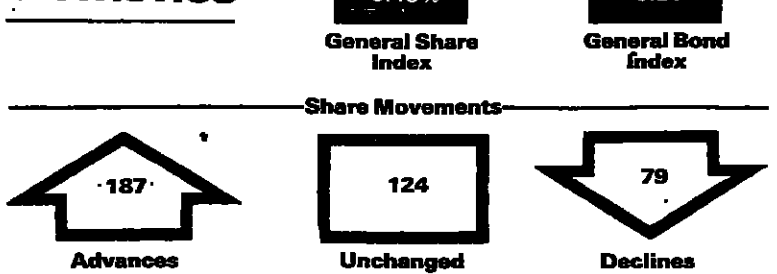
Bank-share holders are more likely to hold on to their stock if bank earnings are strong, rather than sell them to the government at their

Secretary Danny Rosolio; Bank Tefahot Chairman Ya'acov Gadish; Yitzhak Yaeger; Yohanan Bader; and Elihu Yitzhak.

The cabinet's approval of the panel ends a two-year standoff between the two coalition partners over who would hold the powerful post of chairman. The bank did not have an advisory panel at all during those two years.

At yesterday's cabinet meeting Industry Minister Ariel Sharon criticized the appointments for their not including a private-sector industrialist, while Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino said it lacked a single woman member.

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

MARKET  
STATISTICS

Stock Indices	Investment Cos.	Bond Indices
General (excl. argmt.) 156.04 +0.80%	173.25 +0.88%	Index-linked Bonds 110.35 +0.27%
Non-argmt. Banks 153.27 +2.52%	159.02 -1.05%	Fully linked 111.62 +0.30%
Arrangement Banks 108.07 +0.12%		Partially linked 108.34 +0.22%
Mortgage Banks 147.36 +1.61%		Foreign Currency 108.79 +0.15%
Financial Inst. 115.45 -0.28%		FC denominated 110.98 -0.02%
Insurance 126.21 +0.17%		FC linked 107.98 +0.28%
Commerce & Services 155.73 +0.82%		Short-term 0-2 yrs 107.88 +0.15%
Real Estate & Agric. 155.07 +1.30%		Short-medium 2-5 yrs 108.89 +0.48%
Industrials 158.18 +0.67%		Medium-long 5-7 yrs 111.88 +0.16%
Food & Tobacco 156.43 +0.17%		Long-term 7+ yrs 113.01 +0.08%
Textiles 155.22 +0.30%		
Metals 162.05 +1.39%		
Electronics 158.12 -0.24%		
Chemicals 156.11 +1.48%		
Industrial Invest. 170.26 +0.28%		

## SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	%
Commercial Banks			
(not part of "arrangement")			
Maritime 2200 2519 +1.9			
General non-arr. 4086 +2.6			
First Int'l 7420 8802 +4.2			
FIBI 5675 4086 +2.6			
Commercial Banks			
(part of "arrangement")			
IDB 91280 288 -			
Union 0.1 59020 98 +0.5			
Discount 116650 211 +0.6			
Mizrahi 37540 290 +0.5			
Hapoalim R. 61780 1107 -			
General A. 38200 1857 -			
Leumi 0.1 52500 15 -			
Fin. Trade 52500 15 -			
Real Estate, Building and			
Agriculture			
Azorim 1359 22913 +3.0			
Eilon 487 14715 -			
Africa Isr. 0.1 60900 491 +1.4			
Dankner 7720 947 +0.9			
Prop. & Bldg. 3875 2884 +2.1			
Bayside 0.1 5560 2448 -			
ILDC 97000 420 -			
Ressco 6400 334 +8.8			
Mehadrin 7000 328 +2.0			
Hedanim 1870 2686 -			
Industrials			
Dubek B. 6780 1286 +2.7			
Pri-Ze 1 18250 273 +2.8			
Sunfront 26050 1511 -3.0			
Adgar 882 4699 +0.8			
Argaman R. 18350 313 +1.4			
Delta G 1 6400 2943 -4.5			
Maquette 1 5000 564 +6.4			
Eagle 1 700 6453 +2.8			
Beigal 5459 1337 +3.5			
Schoellerria 20400 863 +4.3			
Rogovin 3030 1460 +2.7			
Urdan 0.1 5028 3082 +1.8			
Is. Can Co. 1 3225 2837 +0.8			
Zion Cables 24000 188 -			
Packer Steel 60800 32 -1.3			
Eibit 60800 32 -1.3			
Trade & Services			
Meir Ezer 1328 2770 -0.4			
Supered 2 13700 1153 -0.4			
Delek 6555 8954 +2.0			
Lightstar 28000 47 -			
Cold Storage 1480 11912 -			
Dan Hotels 2000 1731 +2.0			
Yarden Hotel 2689 303 +5.0			
Hilton 1 1270 -			
Tel 1 1270 -			
Real Estate, Building and			
Agriculture			
Azorim 1359 22913 +3.0			
Eilon 487 14715 -			
Africa Isr. 0.1 60900 491 +1.4			
Dankner 7720 947 +0.9			
Prop. & Bldg. 3875 2884 +2.1			
Bayside 0.1 5560 2448 -			
ILDC 97000 420 -			
Ressco 6400 334 +8.8			
Mehadrin 7000 328 +2.0			
Hedanim 1870 2686 -			
Industrials			
Dubek B. 6780 1286 +2.7			
Pri-Ze 1 18250 273 +2.8			
Sunfront 26050 1511 -3.0			
Adgar 882 4699 +0.8			
Argaman R. 18350 313 +1.4			
Delta G 1 6400 2943 -4.5			
Maquette 1 5000 564 +6.4			
Eagle 1 700 6453 +2.8			
Beigal 5459 1337 +3.5			
Schoellerria 20400 863 +4.3			
Rogovin 3030 1460 +2.7			
Urdan 0.1 5028 3082 +1.8			
Is. Can Co. 1 3225 2837 +0.8			
Zion Cables 24000 188 -			
Packer Steel 60800 32 -1.3			
Eibit 60800 32 -1.3			
Trade & Services			
Meir Ezer 1328 2770 -0.4			
Supered 2 13700 1153 -0.4			
Delek 6555 8954 +2.0			
Lightstar 28000 47 -			
Cold Storage 1480 11912 -			
Dan Hotels 2000 1731 +2.0			
Yarden Hotel 2689 303 +5.0			
Hilton 1 1270 -			
Tel 1 1270 -			

Ariely sees  
billings of  
\$20m. in '87

TEL AVIV. — Ariely Advertising Ltd., one of the big five agencies in Israel, yesterday forecast that billings would exceed \$20 million this year, a one-third increase from 1986.

In making the prediction, General Manager Ronnie Ariely cited the firm's strategy of forming specialized subsidiaries such as its public relations firm and an advertising company that specializes in the Arab market. Among the company's major accounts are Bank Leumi, El Al, and the Israel Electric Co.

## Israel Money Markets

Bank	Deposit	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hapoalim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Discount	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Mizrahi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Eilon	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Azorim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Dan	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Yarden	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hilton	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Tel Aviv	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Leumi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hapoalim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Discount	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Mizrahi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Eilon	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Azorim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Dan	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Yarden	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hilton	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Tel Aviv	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00

Bank	Deposit	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hapoalim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Discount	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Mizrahi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Eilon	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Azorim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Dan	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Yarden	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hilton	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Tel Aviv	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00

Bank	Deposit	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hapoalim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Discount	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Mizrahi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Eilon	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Azorim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Dan	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Yarden	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hilton	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Tel Aviv	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00

Bank	Deposit	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hapoalim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Discount	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Mizrahi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Eilon	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Azorim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Dan	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Yarden	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hilton	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Tel Aviv	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00

Bank	Deposit	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hapoalim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Discount	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Mizrahi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Eilon	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Azorim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Dan	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Yarden	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hilton	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Tel Aviv	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00

Bank	Deposit	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hapoalim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Discount	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Mizrahi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Eilon	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Azorim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Dan	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Yarden	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hilton	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Tel Aviv	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00

Bank	Deposit	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Hapoalim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Discount	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Mizrahi	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Eilon	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Azorim	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Bank Dan	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00



# THE JERUSALEM POST

Art Roth  
Editor and  
Managing Director

Erwin Frankel  
Editor

Eli Noy General Manager  
Shalom Weiss Treasurer  
Avraham Levin Advertising Manager  
Yosef Horn Press Manager  
Ray Lewis Circulation Manager

David Landau Associate Managing Editor  
David Gross Associate Managing Editor  
Yakov Reuel Editorial Editor  
Shalom Cohen Op-ed Editor  
Hanan Sher Supplements Editor

Founded in 1932 by GERSHON AGRON, who was Editor until 1955. Editor 1955-1974 TED LURIE. Editor 1974-1975 LEA BEN DOR. EDITORIAL OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATION The Jerusalem Post Building, Romema, Jerusalem P.O. Box 81 (91000) Telephone 551616, Telex 26121. Fax 551670. TEL AVIV 9 Rehov Carlebach, POB 20126 (61201) Telephone 294222, 286231-5 (six lines) Fax 203528. HAIFA 16 Rehov Nordau, Hader Haazman, POB 4810 (31047) Telephone 645444 Fax 645446. Published daily, except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Palestine Post Ltd. Printed by The Jerusalem Post Press in Jerusalem. Registered at the G.P.O. as The Jerusalem Post 1987. Reproduction, or storage in a retrieval system, is prohibited without permission.

## New winds from China

IN MAKING official the holding of a meeting last Friday between the Chinese permanent representative to the UN, Li Luyue, and the Israel Foreign Ministry's director-general, Avraham Tamir, Beijing has taken a significant step towards normalizing relations with Israel.

It will, of course, still be some time before full normalization sets in, and the two countries recover an opportunity repeatedly evaded before.

The first opportunity presented itself some 38 years ago, when the newly-founded State of Israel promptly recognized the victorious new Communist regime in China, but it was lost as a result of the Korean war. Weighing the advantages of a "Red" Chinese connection against the disadvantages of incurring America's wrath, the government of David Ben-Gurion chose to bide its time.

So did the Chinese government. In early 1955 it invited Israel's then ambassador to Rangoon, David Hacohen, for a visit, about which the ambassador sent glowing reports back home. He also urged the government to seek formal ties with China. But his advice was rejected.

A few months later, in Bandung, China, emerging as a leader of a new Afro-Asian Third World alliance, cast its lot publicly with the Arabs, and against Israel. Nevertheless, as Hacohen noted, Chou Enlai, while expressing sympathy for the Palestinian refugees, had not a bad word to say about Israel at the conference.

In later years Beijing fully made up for it with a verbal torrent of abuse that easily topped anything the Russians, China's erstwhile allies, could muster. Chinese hostility reached truly menacing dimensions after the Six Day War, and at the time of Mao Zedong's "cultural revolution," when the PLO's most extreme demands were endorsed as official policy.

With the erstwhile Chinese leader's demise a measure of sanity returned to the Chinese People's Republic, and one of its manifestations has been a changed and more pragmatic attitude towards Israel. Very quietly and without fanfare, China and Israel started establishing a mutually beneficial economic and technological - including, according to foreign press reports, military - relationship. The extent of the change was so striking that it was impossible to hide, despite the fact that both governments kept mum on the subject.

The tightest possible secrecy has been Beijing's condition for the cultivation of ties with Jerusalem. This applied especially to diplomatic contacts, of which an especially dim view could be expected to be taken by China's close friends among the radical Arabs, and perhaps throughout the Third World. Last Friday's high-level Chinese-Israeli meeting at UN headquarters in New York was not the first of its kind. It was merely the first to be reported by the Xinhua news agency.

It suggested that Deng Xiaoping's China is now ready to begin formalizing relations with Israel, if only within the UN framework, and for a price. The price seems to be a seat for China, in its capacity as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, at an international peace conference on the Middle East.

China's present Middle East policy is anchored in the "moderate" Arab consensus: total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, a Palestinian state in the relinquished territories, and recognition of the PLO. But the Chinese accept that these demands must in any case be negotiated, not imposed, and that they must somehow be reconciled with Israel's right to sovereign and secure statehood.

It is no secret to the Chinese that Israel will not agree to the sharing in any international umbrella for Arab-Israeli peace talks by a "big power" that does not have normal relations with this country. The publicity given to the Friday meeting indicates that Beijing is now proceeding, even if slowly, in that direction, and that it does not intend to be far behind the Kremlin on that road.

Is that not in Israel's own interest? Premier Yitzhak Shamir evidently thinks it isn't. At yesterday's Herut convention he again lashed out at the international conference idea as if the Camp David concept which the Likud had effectively wrecked, were still a viable option. The day before, Shamir reiterated his open displeasure with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres's pursuit of the peace process through a conference. The Chinese may be excused for wondering now with which Israeli government it is they are dealing.

## HERUT

(Continued from Page One)

Alliances were made and broken throughout the day. Cohen-Avidov, for example, a staunch supporter of Sharon, was surprised and hurt to learn that his mentor had called for the election of Levy as deputy chairman.

Even Shamir and Levy, who until yesterday morning were still feuding, found it possible to exhibit some bearhugs for media consumption.

A morning meeting between the Herut ministers almost ended in a cancellation of the convention, as Shamir, exasperated by new demands from Levy, threatened to leave the convention site. He was reportedly dissuaded by Katsav.

Later Shamir sent his bureau chief Tzahi Hanegbi and convention legi adviser Eitan Haberman to continue negotiating with Levy.

While these consultations were taking place, Katsav opened the convention. Levy, surprised at Katsav's move, stepped into the convention hall and accepted the labour and social affairs minister's *fait accompli*.

In the evening, after being assured that the convention would not break up, Katsav allowed himself to attack Levy by name, saying that the deputy prime minister had opposed every proposal that Katsav had raised, and that Levy "had not helped at all."

Katsav said that Shamir, Arens and Sharon had consistently given him their full backing. But contrary to Levy's claims, Katsav said, the deputy prime minister had received especially favourable treatment because of his "sensitivity."

Levy himself claimed last night before the voting that the convention was a victory for him and for his espousal of democracy and competition within the party. But he also claimed that yesterday's elections did not reflect the true strength of his camp, and that he still planned to ask the party central committee to take a vote showing the relative strength of the various camps led by himself, Shamir and Sharon.

Levy said that the other Herut leaders were afraid of seeing a "true picture" of his camp's strength.

# Two different types of dual allegiance

Joseph Heckelman

THE POLLARD affair is not the first instance of an American citizen being tried in an American court for assisting Israel in violation of American law.

A rash of such trials took place during and after the War of Independence. The accused were tried for violating two American laws: the Neutrality Act forbidding American citizens to serve in foreign armed forces and conceivably jeopardizing their citizenship if they did so; and the embargo on shipment of arms to the Middle East.

There was, then, overwhelming American public support for a Jewish state in the light of the recent Holocaust and the ongoing conflict with a British Palestine administration dedicated to preventing Jewish immigration and a Jewish state from coming into being. It was also a time of individual initiative relative to Holocaust survivors.

In the U.S., no less than in other parts of the Western world, veterans of World War II and some who had been too young for World War II, saw it as a matter of the highest morality to do their utmost to see to it that the Jewish State came into being and survived - after so many had been killed because no country would accept them.

Furthermore, as independent citizens, they saw such a state in the Middle East as being in the best long-range interests of their own country. They saw bureaucrats who were applying negative aspects of the law as really working against America's true long-range interests.

Violating such laws was seen as ultimately patriotic. In a less extreme situation they would not have acted. Those who did recognized that the risks they ran included the full range - from death in battle to imprisonment and fines. Some came to serve in Israel's armed forces; some were engaged in smuggling aircraft, weapons and/or munitions from the U.S. Some were involved in both areas.

A FEW were caught and brought to trial. On January 3, 1948, in the course of loading a rather large quantity of concealed explosives on the SS Executor, one crate broke open. As a result, six men were arrested and tried. All pleaded guilty and were released without even a fine. Federal Judge Silvester J. Ryan said: "You endeavored to provide means of defence to an otherwise defenceless people. I do not regard you as criminals..."

Similarly, in June 1948, Judge John C. Giordano expressed his sympathy in releasing a resident of Asbury Park, New Jersey, with a fine of \$500 for "unlawful and improper storage" of part of a lot of 200 tons of war surplus demolition material.

On the other hand, in November 1948, a federal grand jury in Miami, Florida, issued warrants for nine men accused of smuggling bombers and guns to the Israeli forces. Twenty-one others were named as co-conspirators but were not brought to trial. Of the nine, Charles T. Winters admitted that he was the guilty of conspiracy. On February 4, 1949, he was sentenced to 18 months in a federal prison and fined \$5,000. The special federal prosecutor had stated that the action of all those

involved "endangered the security of the United States and jeopardized the relations of this country in a way that is almost frightening."

Another elected to stand trial in the New York federal court. The same special prosecutor asked that Winter's sentence be duplicated. Instead, Judge Rifkind discharged the accused, saying that he "manifestly" was "not the type of person who was preparing for a life on the wrong side of the law."

On October 25, 1949, nine months after the war in Israel had stopped, three months after the last armistice agreement was signed, seven men were brought to trial in a federal court in Los Angeles for conspiracy to violate export control laws by a 1948 shipment of aircraft and engines to an embargoed Middle Eastern nation (Israel). The lengthy trial ended in February 1950. Three of the men were found guilty with a jury recommendation for leniency. Judge Peirson M. Hall stated that "this offence is probably as serious as can be committed." They and their umbrella airline were fined \$10,000 each.

The final trial began in July 1950, in the same court in Los Angeles. Here three men were accused of conspiracy for allegedly smuggling a cargo of arms and ammunition via Mexico to Israel. Following a guilty plea, the same Judge Peirson M. Hall assessed a fine of \$10,000.

Thus, there was judicial sympathy, and there was judicial hostility, with language that found its echo in 1987. Does criticism necessarily mean anti-Semitism? Of course not. But when criticism yields to hostile exaggeration, one begins to wonder. Yet, should the most powerful country militarily in the Middle East in 1987 expect anything like the sympathy for the poor underdog of 1948?

A NUMBER of Americans who served with the IDF had an unexpectedly unpleasant experience. Instead of cooperating in concealing their seemingly illegal service, the Israeli authorities did not return some passports of volunteers who had turned them over to Israel as requested. Those volunteers had no choice but to turn themselves in to the American Consulate, explain what they had been doing in Israel, and face the music. It should be noted also that the families of those who were killed (some of whom had family responsibilities) received \$5,000 to \$10,000.

This, then, is the reality of close to 40 years ago. People put themselves totally on the line, risking (in some cases, losing) their lives in service that was vital to the emerging State of Israel. When caught, they quietly took personal responsibility, although they had surely been encouraged by representatives of Israel.

HOWEVER, there were differences between 1948 and 1986. In 1948, the illegal activity was truly vital to Israel's survival. Pollard's 1986 "ton of paper" was surely not vital to Israel's survival. How useful or important it might have been if the

sheer volume of paper handled had not automatically caused the operation to self-destruct is a matter of subjective judgment.

In 1948, thousands of Americans and a few Israelis were involved in activities which could be viewed as breaking American law. But none of them died. Spying involves an inside person betraying what he/she is supposed to be guarding. Our past history is not irrelevant. Moses sent scouts to report on the appearance of the land and its inhabitants; Joshua sent scouts to report on the morale of the residents of Jericho.

To the extent that Jonathan Pollard has been quoted accurately as insisting that his spying was the proper extension of his Zionist commitment he is incorrect; he helps undermine the security of the American Jewish community; he prepares the groundwork for a pension on his release.

Instead of setting higher standards because of our special history, we seem to make it an excuse for the reverse. Spying on friends and benefactors should be unthinkable to us. Nations can be long-term friends, especially when interests, needs and values coincide.

The State of Israel would not exist today if we were in the habit of asking world approval in advance of acting. Establishing facts first has been a necessary aspect of our survival. But the kind of steps that were once taken with hesitation, under extreme circumstances, have now become routine and have led to reflexively regarding the rest of the world with disdain. This extension of self-confidence to arrogance may well be the greatest threat to our society today.

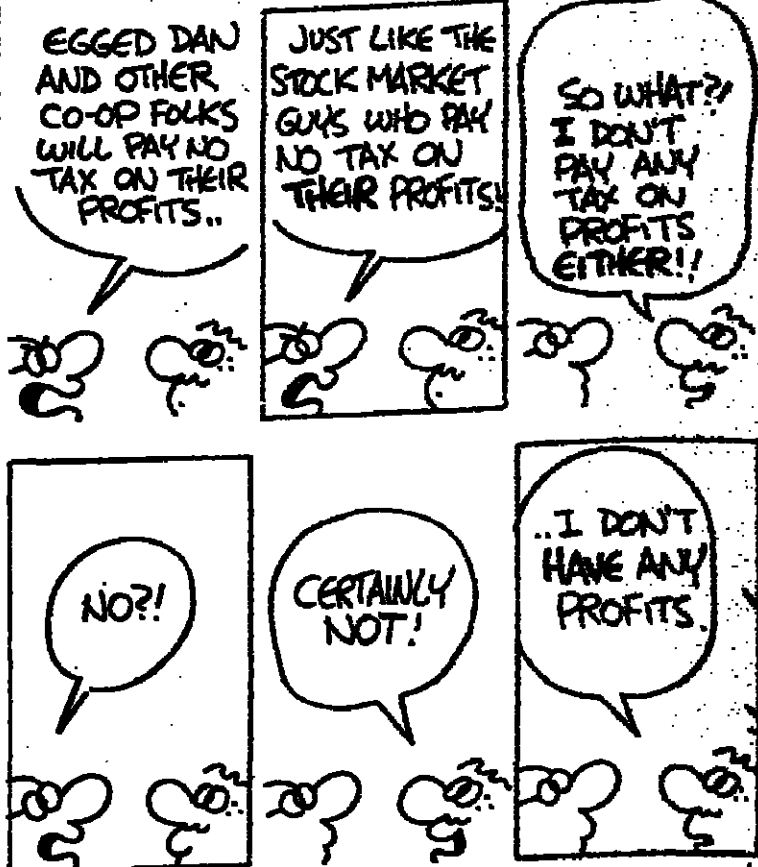
Our leaders seem to think that they are both immortal and indispensable. From this distorted perspective, even if they are involved in a national calamity, they are concerned that it would further weaken the country terribly if they were to resign. This writer suggests the opposite: That responsibility for the current disaster be fixed at whatever level it belongs, that the individuals found responsible be held accountable and suffer consequences. This could begin a needed revolution in our way of doing things. Instead of rewarding mistakes and incompetence, we would begin to set things right. The ferment of the Pollard affair may serve our country as a fever serves the body, forcing attention on an ongoing distortion which, if ignored, could prove thoroughly destructive.

Of course, the Pollard affair is a very small portion of the totality of relationships, and geo-political reality, joining the U.S. and Israel. But its visibility and symbolic significance are very great - perhaps comparable to that of the responsibly patriotic law-breakers of 1948.

One might suggest that the latter, by living their dual loyalty, initiated the process of Israel-American intertwining which has developed and expanded so greatly over the past four decades. Hopefully, this rogue operation will lead to our uncovering and reversing the false directions into which we have slid - if we humbly hold up the mirror and truly learn from this traumatic experience.

The writer, a long-time resident of Safad, was a 1948-9 Mafal volunteer, and is author of American Volunteers and Israel's War of Independence.

## Dry Bones



## READERS' LETTERS

### MR. SHARIR, APOLOGIZE!

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - In trying to defend his decision not to extradite William Nakash, on Israel Television on March 11, Justice Minister Avraham Sharir referred to the Demjanjuk trial and said: "Europe's soil is soaked with Jewish blood. In these very days we are witnessing in Jerusalem a replay of a chapter in history we all fear. I compare the blood of one Jew to that of another."

Yes, Europe's soil is indeed soaked with Jewish blood, and that blood and the pain of the survivors is crying out over the insult by an Israeli cabinet minister to the dead and the survivors, by daring to compare the victims of Treblinka to a convicted murderer - albeit Jewish.

Mr. Sharir should officially and in writing ask forgiveness of the living and the dead. Mine he won't get, but he should do it anyway.

In terms of collective ministerial responsibility, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir should apologize on behalf of the cabinet of which Mr. Sharir is a member. Both pleas for forgiveness should be sincere and unequivocal. Nothing less will do.

But, alas, I am afraid that no genuine apology will be forthcoming.

### GALILEE LANDS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - In his article of March 13 on "Pioneering in Galilee, 1987 style," Aryeh Rubinstein writes: "You don't want them [Jewish farmers] to abandon the old homestead, because we're talking about Galilee, and the vacuum that nature abhors. The Arabs love to fill."

Mr. Rubinstein should know that the Arabs residing in this country enjoy, or should enjoy, equal rights, including the right to practise whatever occupations they wish. I am

frankly appalled that such a sentence could appear in what I have always regarded as a liberal newspaper.

CORDELIA EDWARDS  
A 3709 Auschwitz-Birkenau  
Jerusalem.

Sir, - We are sure we were not alone in being shocked by the revolting equation made by Minister Sharir between the Jews in Treblinka and William Nakash.

It is hard to understand how anybody in his right mind could compare the murdered and the murderer, the victims of bestiality and the beast.

It is true that by accident of birth Nakash is a Jew, but anyone killing a man in cold blood puts himself outside the whole human race, not to mention its Jewish branch.

Shame on the entire government which lets one of its members express himself the way Sharir did without reacting. The same goes for the religious establishment which keeps forgetting that one is born a man seven full days before one becomes a Jew.

ANNE & JOSEPH SARTIEL  
Kfar Hahoshesh.

### GALILEE LANDS

frankly appalled that such a sentence could appear in what I have always regarded as a liberal newspaper.

EZRA MENDELSON  
Jerusalem.

Aryeh Rubinstein comments: Professor Mendelson is being disingenuous.

The big problem in Galilee is that the broad expanses of state land not settled by Jews attract Arab squatters who, after cultivating the land for several years, acquire squatters' rights.

## ONE OF A KIND



There are many hotels in Jerusalem... But only one super three star hotel

- Strictly Kosher
- Shabbat elevator
- Walking distance to the city center and Old City
- Great family plan rates
- Facilities for family functions

Jerusalem's one of a kind three star hotel

3 Mendele Street  
Jerusalem 92147 Israel  
Tel: 02-663111 Telex: 26536



Daily bus

\$25 - \$20\* - One way

\$40 - \$30\* - Tel Aviv - Cairo - Tel Aviv

\$75 - \$63\* - Tel Aviv - Cairo - Tel Aviv

+ 3 nights on B.B. basis

\$70 - \$69\* - 4 days/3 nights on B.B. basis - panoramic tour

\$125 - 4 days / 3 nights on half board

2 days of touring in Cairo, Giza Pyramids

\$320 - 8 days/7 nights on half board

basin. Touring in Cairo, Luxor and Aswan, Deluxe hotels in upper Egypt

All the tours are available with deluxe hotels

We'll arrange your visa (for Tourist) the same day (in Tel Aviv only) (subject to Consulate office hours)

SPECIAL OFFER FOR STUDENTS

CAIRO & BACK

HOTEL LOTUS (TOWN CENTER) \$54

Dollar rates for tourists.

\* Weekend reduction or Youth Fare

Tel Aviv: 142 Hayarkon St. (03) 51111

Jerusalem: 3 Ben-Zur St. (02) 51111

Telex: 26536

Galilee Tours

## POSTSCRIPTS

PS INDIAN frogs' legs will no longer adorn gourmet dining tables following a recent government ban on the export of the delicacy.

Wildlife lovers have been demanding the ban for several years, their drive fuelled by lurid accounts of how the jumping legs are chopped off more than 100 million frogs a year while they are still alive, to preserve freshness.

Experts add that with so many frogs being killed, their natural prey - insects and particularly mosquitoes - are breeding out of control, triggering an ecological chain reaction and posing a threat to agriculture.

The World Wildlife Fund organizations in Switzerland and West Germany have called in vain on their countries' food and hotel industries to stop serving frog legs.

## The Pollards are not Alone! WRITE TO:

Ann Henderson-Pollard  
09189-016, Women's Unit  
F.C.I., POB 2000  
3301 Leestown Road  
Lexington, KY 40511-6799  
USA

Jonathan Jay Pollard  
POB 4000  
Federal Penitentiary  
US Prison  
Springfield, MO 65808  
USA

Contributions to meet the Pollards' legal expenses can be paid into:

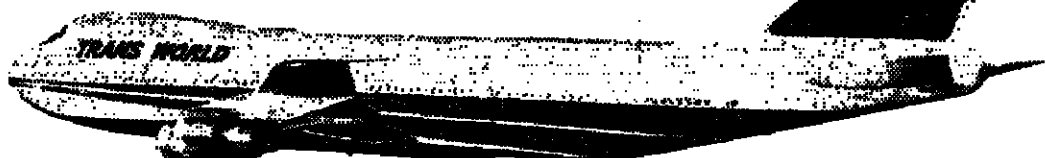
Bank Leumi, Lev Dizengoff, 274422-40,

Bank Hapoalim, Lev Dizengoff, 383100

CITIZENS FOR POLLARD

POB 23036, Tel Aviv 61230

# TWA747 Non-stop Tel Aviv-New York-Tel Aviv.



## The most convenient way to America.

Morning departures every Sunday, Wednesday\* and Friday\*, arriving at noon in New York. Convenient TWA

connecting flights to other US destinations arriving same day. TWA flies to nearly 100 US

cities plus Hawaii and the Caribbean. See your travel agent.

\* from April 5

Leading the way to the USA

